

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XXV

*LOBEL, TURNER*

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EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART XXV

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

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## PREFACE

THE bulk of the work in this Part has been done by Mr. Lobel. He has identified, assembled, and commented on the fragments of Doric comedy 2426-2429, of Simonides 2430-2434, and recognized a fresh scrap of Callimachus, 2437. Turner has contributed the column from the *Acta Alexandrinorum* 2435 and, in collaboration with Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram, the verses with musical notation 2436. Our gratitude is again due to Mr. John Rea for compiling the index, and to U.N.E.S.C.O. for a continued grant of five hundred dollars towards the cost of publication. As always, the Oxford University Press has given of its best in the printing.

E. G. TURNER  
T. C. SKEAT  
*Joint Editors of the  
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

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<sup>1</sup> All dates are A.D. unless otherwise noted.

## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXIV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed, in the case of the new literary texts edited by Mr. Lobel, slightly below the line. Elsewhere the dots are printed on the line. Furthermore, in the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth ed.). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

### 2426. LIST OF PLAYS BY EPICHARMUS

The titles of five plays of Epicharmus and one of Deinolochus, which the context makes it reasonable to suppose was credited to Epicharmus, are easily identified in the scrap published below. The mixture of accusatives and nominatives and the introduction of one of the titles by the word *ἔτι*, to say nothing of *ἠδέ*, if that is rightly recognized in l. 4, make it obvious that this was not an ordinary list in prose. The probabilities appear to me to favour its being composed in iambic trimeters<sup>1</sup> but trochaic tetrameters are not *prima facie* ruled out.

The hand is an angular upright uncial perhaps to be dated in the second century.

<p>.ομαθεαηπυραν'οδυσεε.[          ]'τερομεναντομολος.ο...[          ].γος'ετι.ηδεια.[          ].'.[.].αετ'ηδ.[          5 ]πιπαμ[          ]ιτονζ.[</p>	<p>Π]ρομαθέα ἢ Πύρ&lt;ρ&gt;αν' Ὀδυσεε.[          ]ἄτερος μὲν αὐτόμολος .ο...[          ναυ]αγός· ἔτι Μήδειαν[          ].· Π[έ]ρ[ε]ας τ' ἠδ.[          ]πιπαμ[          ἐπ]ί τὸν ζω[ε]τήρα</p>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

1 [ , a trace on a single fibre. There is more scattered ink on the same fibre farther to the right. No verification will be possible 2 Between *ε* and *ο* the lower part of *ε* or *ε* followed by what might be the middle of an upright 3 Of *μ* only the start of the left-hand stroke 4 Between ' and ' possibly a thick or cancelled ' , but this is not very satisfactory 5 Of *ν* only the right-hand upright 6 might be the left-hand upright of *η*, *ν*

1 If I am right in supposing that these lines contain iambic trimeters or trochaic tetrameters, -*θεα η* will scan as two syllables, υ- . There is no point in inquiring whether this is better regarded as a synaloiphe of -*α η* or a scriptio plena of -*α η*. Verses of this character are often technically poor.

*Προμαθέα ἢ Πύρραν*: ancient quotations of Epicharmus exhibit the titles *Πύρρα*, *Προμαθεός*, *Πύρρα καὶ Προμαθεός*, and perhaps *Πύρρα ἢ Προμαθεός* (fr. 121, 116, 114, 118 K). It is natural to suppose that only one play is referred to, the same as that called *Προμαθεός ἢ Πύρρα* here. See 2427 fr. 1 note.

1 seqq. I suppose something like 'Ὀδυσεέας δύο ὧν ἄτερος μὲν αὐτόμολος ἄτερος δὲ ναυαγός, cf. fr. 100 seqq. K. There is no reason to assume greater losses at the beginnings of ll. 1-3 than Π], ων], ναυ] but I can make nothing of the traces after *αυτομολός* which satisfies the requirements assumed. Since *αὐτόμολος* is never itself oxytone, -*ός* must imply an enclitic, but *εστ* was not written, though *ετ* or *ετ* may have been.

<sup>1</sup> A list in trimeters of Callimachean pieces, published by Reitzenstein from the Paris MS. Supp. gr. 1095, is in *Hermes* xxvi 308. But that composition is ascribed to a date later by many centuries than 2426. I can adduce no other exactly comparable list but the *ἔμμετροι Καρνεονίκα* of Hellanicus (Athen. xiv 635e) suggest that versified catalogues have a long history in Greek. Apollodorus, in view of his work on Epicharmus, on the one hand, and his versified chronology, on the other, might be reasonably considered for the authorship of 2426, but I see no way of attempting to verify this guess.

3 *Mήδειαν*: no *Medea* is elsewhere attributed to Epicharmus, but his contemporary Deinolochus is quoted for a play of this name. Presumably it was sometimes supposed to be not by him but by Epicharmus. So the *Ατάλανται* is ascribed to both Epicharmus and Phormus.

4 Since in ll. 1, 3, 4 a high stop is put after the title of the play, part of the ink above the line between τ' and ἦ may be meant for a high stop. I cannot, in that case, account for the rest of it.

5 seq. A natural conjecture for the beginning of l. 6 would be καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ζῶ[στῆρα, though it appears to me to be on the short side. If it were right, however, one might guess further that Ἡ[ρακλέα τὸν παρὰ, or παρ, Φόλοι came at the end of the preceding line. πιπαν as part of οἰνοπίπαν would suit the story, but I am not sure that -παν instead of -πην would be expected and other supplements, to say nothing of other articulations, are easily thought of.

## 2427. EPICHARMUS, PLAYS

Of the thirty-five or more plays with which Epicharmus is credited only one was hitherto represented otherwise than by quotations, the *Ὀδυσεὺς αὐτόμολος* (fr. 99 K) found in a Rainer papyrus, on which, as it happens, 2429 contains a commentary. How many are represented in the scraps here published I see no way of deciding. FR. 1-3 clearly come from the play—or, if there was more than one, one of the plays—referred to in the quotations listed on p. 3 seq. There are grounds for supposing that fr. 27 may come from the *Ἡβας γάμος* or the *Μοῦσαι* and a possibility that fr. 8 represents the *Σφίγξ* (see also on fr. 25 and 53). I have identified no other though palaeographical considerations, which I mention below, incline me to believe that there may be several more. The question is not of much importance since there is so little continuous text that the literary value of these remnants is small. There is one point of some technical interest. In fr. 1 three characters, Prometheus, Deucalion, and Pyrrha, appear to be simultaneously on the stage. The use of three actors had already been inferred by Kaibel from a fragment of the *Ἄμυκος* (*Epicharmus* in P.-W. vi, col. 37), though I am not sure that his argument is well founded. These would be considerably earlier examples than any that could be adduced from the Attic theatre.

There can be little doubt that one and the same hand, a specimen of the common angular type seen, for example, in 655, 1012, 1611, 2312, and ascribed to the late second or early third century, is responsible for the text of all the fragments. But the variations in its appearance between one set of fragments and another, for instance between fr. 1 (a)-(c) and others, fr. 15-18, fr. 25 (a)-(b), fr. 51 (a)-(f), are sufficiently marked to justify the surmise that they correspond to different rolls and do not simply represent gradual changes of style in the course of transcribing one manuscript. How many variants there may be I am not prepared to say and that the inference may easily be false is seen from the fact that I should have guessed fr. 2 to be a different variant from fr. 1 and 3, if the internal evidence were not in favour of its being associated with them. But if there is anything in these observations, there may be half a dozen or more rolls, that is, at least the same number of plays, represented in the remnants.

In the lection signs there appear to be recognizable at least two pens, one of which may be that of the original copyist. In the interlinear and marginal additions I think not less than three hands have been at work, though one of them (fr. 54 i 8, ii 5) perhaps only in one place.

ΠΥΡΡΑ?

## Fr. 1

			(b)		
			].φ.χρ[		
			]λαρνακ[. . .]εἰλεγειδ[		
			]ληγοξυμελεῖνοσετ[		
			]εγεβρος: ἀλλικᾶχ' ὄμεγχα[		
			]αιμηνηῖονεφ.[		
			] [. . . ] ελαρναχ' οὐτῶ ποικιλ[		(c)
			κατὰ [ [ . ] ]		] ἄλλα[
			]εποικιλιασὰ πὸ χρηκικᾶφελ[		] γακριβ[
			] χρηεῖ στεγαζευδειμον.[		] ἄλλ' ἀλ[. . .] [
			] ρναξ κηστειγαῖκητ.[		] ἡψέγοιτέκ' [
(a) col. i	col. ii		] ποπτευωγακαῖδεδοικ'εγων[	5	] ποπιπᾶνω[
	] πυρ[	] ἔστ[	] ασκευαριαπανταβᾶιφερω[		] θᾶσς[
		] μηδ[	] ἥσθαιπρομαθεουμνοσ[		] κη[
		] σπρομα[	] κογτεκᾶμαρτωλικον [		] .[
	] .γ	] καρτα[	] προμαθεος [		
		] αἰγενοῖτ'δ'ι[	] προμαθεος [		
		] μηδαμῶστον[	] νωπυρρᾶκακ[		
		] κᾶτάρ'ουκατ[	] οικειν[		
		] [. . .] γυναικοσ[			
		] ἰτᾶελα[			
		] .ευσυ[			
10					

Fr. 1 (a)-(c) The level of these three fragments is fixed by the cross-fibres. There is no external evidence about their intervals but I do not much doubt that (a) col. ii and (b) formed part of the same column and that (c) is the next one. Fr. 62 may have stood below the right-hand side of (b), but I cannot trace in it any of the cross-fibres of (a)

(a) Col. i 4 marg. Possibly ]λεγ Col. ii 5 Between ο and ι part of a horizontal stroke level with the tops of the letters 9 Above ι a trace, presumably of an accent, perhaps the right-hand end of ^ 10 Above υ[ a trace, perhaps the left-hand dot of a pair or the upper end of ^

(b) 1 Of φ only the base. It is followed by the lower part of an upright 2 ], a trace compatible with the left-hand arc of a circle Above the second ι a dot followed by the foot of an upright 3 Below the second ε what looks like a very small ^, above ν a heavy dot 4 Perhaps α[ 5 ], a trace of a stroke ascending to right, α or λ suggested 6 ], the start of a stroke ascending to right. This is followed at an interval by two traces off the line, of which the second is the lower left-hand arc of a small circle. Between what precedes these and the first letter there may be no other letter wanting 7 Above η traces which suggest that a circumflex accent has been deleted 9 The last five letters are in a different writing but I see no sign of erasure ], the tip of an upright

(c) 6 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters 7 ], a trace below the line, perhaps the start of a stroke rising to right

FR. 1-3 have in common the name of a character Πύρρα (1 (a) ii 1, (b) 15; 2, 8; 3 ii 1). Fr. 1 contains the name Προμαθεός (1 (a) ii 3, (b) 14) and is concerned with a λάρναξ, undoubtedly Deucalion's ark. Ancient authors quote Epicharmus in Πύρρα (fr. 121 K), Προμαθεός (fr. 116 K), Πύρρα καὶ

*Προμαθεύς* (fr. 114 K), perhaps *Πύρρα ἢ Προμαθεύς* (fr. 118 K), and *Δευκαλίων* (fr. 120 K). 2426 adds *Προμαθεύς ἢ Πύρρα* to the list. There is no certainty whether these titles denote one play or more than one and likewise no certainty whether our three fragments come from one play or more than one. What may be regarded as certain is that Epicharmus wrote a play in which Pyrrha was one character and Deucalion or Prometheus (and quite likely both) another, and that fr. 1 (a) ii+ (b) preserves part of a conversation from it. If I refer to this and the other two fragments as the *Πύρρα*, it is for convenience and without any implication about their source or its correct title.

For the possibility that fr. 27 comes from the same play see note on l. 13 of that fragment.

Fr. 1 (a) ii+ (b). (For brevity I refer to (a) ii 1-7+ (b) 10-16 as (b) 10-16.)

According to Apollodorus *Bibl.* i 7, 2 ὑποθεμένου Προμηθέως Δευκαλίων τεκτηνόμενος λάρνακα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνθήμερος εἰς ταύτην μετὰ Πύρρας εἰσέβη. This λάρναξ appears at (b) 2, 6, 9 and probably (a) 9. Instructions about its construction are certainly given at (b) 8, I should say most probably at (b) 4 seq., and I think possibly at (b) 3. This seems to imply the presence of Deucalion and Prometheus, to whom and from whom the instructions pass; the presence of Pyrrha is guaranteed by (b) 15, in which she is addressed, to say nothing of the addition of her name against (b) 10, which shows (with the paragraphus under (b) 14) that she speaks (b) 10-14. I am inclined, therefore, to suppose that the scene consists of a series of questions from Deucalion and answers from Prometheus about the construction of the ark, interrupted by Pyrrha with an expression of her suspicion that Prometheus means to steal it for himself and a reply that she has a nasty mind. On the detail I have the following observations to make.

3 αἱ λῆϊς a favourite locution, Epich. fr. 55, 170, 172 K.

δὲ ὕμειοι ἐῖνοπετ: in connexion with a λάρναξ I should suppose this to mean 'having a πετ- made of beech and ash' but I find these difficulties: (1) one would expect the form to be δὲ ὕμοιελ-, but the superscript -ο- is a variant of υ not an addition to it. (2) The variant δὲ ὕμοιελ- conveys no meaning to me. (3) I cannot guess at the noun beginning with πετ which enters into the structure of a λάρναξ. πέτακος might be used to denote the cover of a circular structure.

4 seqq. Clearly, I think, 'How large must it be?' 'Large enough to hold you . . . and a month's (rations)'. If this is right, Deucalion's words will have been something like 'ἀλλὰ παλικά(ν) τὸ μ]έγαθος;' and Prometheus' reply 'ἀλίκα χ' ὕμ' ἐγγά[δ]η . . . κ]αὶ μηνῆμιον ἐφέ[δ]ιον'. But I must point out that ἐγγανδάνειν is not attested (nor is ἐγγωρεῖν for χωρεῖν in the sense of χανδάνειν) and that the trace after εφ, though it does not rule out ο absolutely, by no means suggests it.

ὕμ', δμ': for the statements of ancient grammarians about the proper accentuation of the elided forms of oxytone words of trochaic scansion see Chandler, *Gr. Acc.* 2 § 909.

6 λάρναχ' οὕτω ποικίλ[αν]. For the Doric accentuation of οὕτως see the quotations in Chandler, *Gr. Acc.* 2 § 885.

I can come to no satisfactory conclusion about the bearing and distribution of this and the following verse. In l. 8 ἀπ]οχρησεῖ—ο is reconcilable with the traces before χ, though not particularly suggested by them, α is not—στεγάζειν δεῖ μόνον, 'will serve. You have only to put a lid on it', is evidently suitable to Prometheus and ἀποχρησεῖ would most readily be taken as an answer to a question containing the ἀποχρησι (incompletely converted into the impersonal ἀπόχρη, a change of which, as of the offer of an alternative κατα compound, I do not understand the intention) occurring in l. 7, which would thus be assigned to Deucalion. But if l. 7 (or the extant part of it) is spoken by Deucalion, l. 6 (or the extant part of it) would again be naturally assigned to Prometheus, since ποικίλας would naturally be supposed to take up ποικίλ[αν]. Further than this I cannot get. To what I should have supposed the most obvious purpose of putting a lid on the λάρναξ, namely, to keep the water out, I can see no reference.

7 Accordingly as the scansion of ἀποχρησι is υυ— or υ— there will be one or two syllables wanting at the end of the line. But though ἀφέλ- does not allow of many choices (ἀφελής, ἀφελείν, ἀφελκύσαι are the most obvious), I can make no acceptable guess.

Margin. This note appears to recur at fr. 3 i 5; 6, 4; possibly 32 i 5. See note on 3 i 5.

9 κῆν στέγαι presumably takes up στεγάζειν. Otherwise it would be natural to take it as 'in a room' or 'in the house'. The word recurs at fr. 2, 3.

10 seqq. The general sense of Pyrrha's interposition seems to be: I have an uneasy suspicion that Prometheus means to clear out with his luggage in our ark and look after himself. If he did, it would

be a rascally performance. To which in l. 15 Deucalion replies 'don't credit him', or Prometheus 'don't credit me', 'with such villainy'.

10 δέδοικ(α) here but δε]δοίκα fr. 16, 10; cf. πεποιήκει in Sophron, PSI 1214 fr. d 7. Perfects in -ω are said to be characteristic of Syracusan (Epich. fr. 190 K) but in fact have a wider—present tense endings in some places of the perfect paradigm a much wider—distribution (Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* ii 267). The Epicharmean paradigm cannot be satisfactorily established on the available evidence: πέποσχε, τέτριγε, εοικε, εοικας contrasted with γεγάθει (fr. 11; 21, 3; 161, 1; 238; 109 K), none metrically guaranteed; πεφόκειν (fr. 173, 3 K); ἐξεκκληκότες, παρεξιστακότος (fr. 155; 170, 16 K).

12 προμαθεύμενος: as the metre shows -εου- is here disyllabic. I can offer no explanation of this development of -εο-. εὐωχευμένων fr. 27, 2 exhibits indeed the same spelling but -εου- is there a monosyllable. In the development -ω- of -εο- found in some Doric dialects (see Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* ii 307, 388) there is no evidence to show that the ι is syllabic (in Aristoph. *Lysist.* 1148, if it is a relevant example, it cannot be so), and the same ambiguity attaches to προμαθειόμενα in the Doric quotation ap. Ap. *Dysc.* π. ἀντ. 61 B. μαχεού-μενον, -μενοι (Hom. *Od.* xi 403, xxiv 113) is shown by μαχειόμενος (*Od.* xvii 471) to be a 'metrical lengthening', a licence not resorted to by writers of iambic or trochaic verse. βροόμενοι in an oracle ap. Hdt. vii 140 similarly occurs in hexameters.

13 ἀμαρτωλικόν: for the ending cf. ἀγαθικῶν Epich. fr. 99, 6 K. Both words are otherwise unattested. For κά- instead of χᾶ- see n. on fr. 4, 8.

14 For τ' ὄ, instead of the original τὸ see n. on fr. 4, 8.

(c) 2 The note below the stichometrical figure I have assumed, perhaps wrongly, to refer to fr. 1(b) 7; see above.

3 Some case of ἀλεκτορίς as in fr. 152, 172 K. I cannot verify the same word in the preceding line.

4 The hyphen to preclude the division ψέ γ-.

6 θᾶcc.: Herodian π.μ.λ. 37 quotes Epicharmus for βᾶccov (fr. 188 K) but excepts θaccov and ελaccov from his rule that comparatives in -ccων have the cc preceded by a short vowel, and this is the doctrine generally found in ancient grammarians. Nevertheless θᾶccov is no doubt what occurred in this place.

		Fr. 2		
Col. i			Col. ii	
		.		
		] [		
		]εμν.[		
		]πότητον[		
		]υστεγα [		
		]εσονδ.[		
5		]ειγομαι [		
		]λε [		
		] [		
		] πυρρα[		
		.		

Fr. 2 2 ], a dot slightly above the general level of the letters  
be upper middle part of ε

4 ], traces compatible with

Fr. 3

Col. i		Col. ii
]νε· [		
]αγα	α[	
].ετε	α[	
]	[	
5 ]α	μα <sup>υ</sup> ην	πυρρα- λ[
	.ενακρι <sup>β</sup>	αλ[
]καμᾶνγ'		φ.[
]		ν[
]·κασι[....].υσανψ'		νῦ.[ 5
		παρ[
		ἦρα[

Fr. 3 Col. i 3 ], a dot above the general level, e.g. φ or ψ 5 ], the start of a stroke rising to right Marg. ο<sup>υ</sup> (i.e. οὔτως) must be meant but there is no trace of the ο 6 The sign under ι is presumably the ὑποδιαστολή  
Col. ii 3 ], on the line the start of a stroke rising to right 5 ], the top of an upright 6 ν[ or possibly μ

Fr. 4

].[

].τοκερδ[

]γαίτοςωφ[

]ρεπλεκειν·α[

5 ]ζούᾶ· τυδέῃη[

]ουc·απανταν[

].ιτικερδανε[

]τ·

]θ'αμε.[.]λγγο[

]αδικωναπ[

10 ]τέκᾶ[

Fr. 4 2 ], the lower part of an upright; the spacing suggests τ 4 I cannot rule out ]ηc  
6 For ]ο possibly ρ or φ 7 ], the tail of a stroke descending from left; for ]ι I cannot rule out ]ν  
8 ], the lower left-hand part of a circular letter, c probable 10 2, there is no trace of the upper dot I should expect above the accent and the cross-bar of ε is anomalously extended

Fr. 5	Fr. 6
].[.] [	] [
]γώνπ[	] [
]ηαποπα[	] [
]α·πωλᾶcφερ[	] ταρεγδῶων[ <sup>κ</sup>
5 ]αcconi'κειν·τ[	] [ ]ενακρι <sup>β</sup> [
]cθεταcοφ'αλ.[	5 ] [
]ανδανον[	]. [
]εν[.]·φρον[	]ωρ [
	]υκυν [
	]ύγᾶ [
	10 ] [
	]παλιω [
	]καλωc [
	] [
	15 ]ινον [ ]ουτφ[
	]. [

Fr. 5 4 Between α and π a dot above mid-letter level; since the papyrus has been broken it cannot be determined whether this is a stop or part of ι Of ρ only the tail; ν possible 6 ], the top of α or λ probable 8 Of ν only the first angle and perhaps the tip of the second upright, but this looks more like a stop or the upper dot of a 'colon' ], the top of a circle and the upper part of an upright against the loop of φ; possibly ει or ει, but close enough together to be only one letter, e.g. υ

Fr. 6 9 Some ink unaccounted for above α to right; it could be read as an ' 16 Perhaps the top of the right-hand arm of ν

Fr. 7

].[

]λαπ[

]δεπν[

].νν[

Fr. 7 1 The lower hook of ε or c 3 Of δ only the extreme right-hand lower angle; λ possible 4 ], a trace above the general level, perhaps the top of ε For ] perhaps μ

Fr. 8

].[.] ακ[.] α[

] cαι ο[.]δι'αλ. μεc[

] θ·ετ'εμεδεcρ[

].[.]·ε[

Fr. 8 1 ], α; the tail of a stroke descending from left 2 Between λ and μ the start of a stroke rising to right and a dot on the line For c[ possibly ω[ 3 Between θ and ε a dot below the line 4 After ε the top of a loop



## Fr. 9

. . .  
 ]..[  
 ]δελ[ ]ακο[  
 ]νοσβοοοδ[  
 ]ντ[.]δ.[  
 5 ]αντ[.]εκα[  
 ]λλαδ'ρουλ.[  
 ]. κυνεβόν[  
 ]τουτοπω.[  
 ]..[.]..[  
 . . .

**Fr. 9** 1 The foot of an upright followed by the lower part of a stroke slanting slightly to right 2 Of ]α only the tail 4 ], an upright with ink to its left, perhaps the right-hand end of a cross-bar ], a stroke slanting slightly to right 6 ], the foot of a stroke rising to right 8 ], the lower part of a stroke slanting slightly to right 9 The remains of the first two letters are consistent with ]νβ[ or ]νρ[, but there are other possibilities

## Fr. 10

. . .  
 ]..[  
 ]νέ'[  
 ]υδιο[  
 ]λαιτα[  
 . . .

**Fr. 10** 1 The foot of an upright followed by the lower tip of a stroke descending below the line 2 ], an upright

## Fr. 11

. . .  
 ]αιτ[  
 ]υτδ[  
 ]αλλαλ[  
 ]υδεδ[  
 5 ]ζεζ[  
 . . .

**Fr. 11** 5 Of ζε only the tops; ε might perhaps be substituted for either

## Fr. 12 (a)

]αμεν[  
 ]: ηρικ'ωγ[  
 ]δγ'ανεμ[  
 ]τουθ'ιςτ[  
 5 ]θ'ευ[

## (b)

]ύγ'α[  
 ]ρία[  
 ]χ'ορ[  
 ] [

## (c)

. . .  
 ]ρ' [ . . .  
 ] [ . . .  
 ] . [ . . .  
 ]νω[.]ο[  
 5 ]αι: [ . . .  
 ] [ . . .  
 ]μαν [ . . .  
 ]ν: [ . . .  
 ] [ . . .  
 10 ] [ . . .

**Fr. 12 (a)-(c)** The cross-fibres show that (a) and (b) stood on one level but I cannot say which to the right or left. I am fairly confident that (b) and (c) preserve the ends of lines in the same column

(a) 1 Of ]α only the tail but the traces of an accent or other lection sign above it preclude λ 5 ], the top of an upright

(c) 1 Of ]ρ only the right-hand side of the loop ], the start of a stroke rising to right 4 There may well be nothing lost in the small gap between ω and ο

## Fr. 13

. . .  
 ]..[  
 ]αθια[  
 ]αιπαι'ρουτ[  
 . . .

## Fr. 14

. . .  
 ]  
 ]ν'  
 ]  
 . . .

Fr. 2 3 *στέγα*: cf. fr. 1 (b) 8 seq.?

5 *επιείγομαι*.

8 The name in the margin is too close to the extant column—it is actually under the ends of ll. 4–5—to refer to the lost column which may be presumed (apart from the possibility that the play ended in the extant column) to have stood on its right. It is therefore a note on the line to its left, like *δ πατήρ*, *δ* [ fr. 15 (b) 8–9, not the speaker of a line to its right.

Fr. 3 i 5 'εμα was in the exemplar'. What follows appears also to have been written at fr. 1 (c) 2 and 6, 4, but the word (if it is a separate word and the same word) before *ακριβ* ( ) is complete only here. It seems to have four letters, . . εν, of which the second is represented only by faint and scattered traces, the first might be a cursive ε, though I do not think it is. Apart from the reading, I am puzzled to see what the note relates to. At 1 (c) 2 it might refer to 1 (b) 7, the verse to its left, but I am by no means certain that it does not refer to the stichometrical B immediately above itself. And similarly here I am by no means certain that it does not refer to the indication of speaker, *Πύρρα*, immediately above to its right. Since the papyrus is broken off at 6, 4 one cannot tell whether a possibility of the same kind existed there. For parallels to notes of this kind see 2291 ii 2, 2430 fr. 1 ii 4.

6 I suppose *καί* (or *και*) *νάν*, as a variant, is indicated. For *νάν* cf. St. Byz. in *Κατάνη*.

8 I cannot absolutely rule out τ for γ but *αὐκαύτ(α)*, which could be read, is not Syracusan (*αὐκαύτας* Epich. fr. 172 K) or Sicilian Doric. *χ]ρυκανγ(ή)* cannot be read.

Fr. 4 5 ]ζοῦά defeats me. Nominative or genitive?

8 ἀμέε [δ]λιγο] is acceptable.

The variant τ' for θ' before δ also arises from the changes made in fr. 1 (a) ii 5 (but there is no variant at fr. 12 (a) 4). Ap. Dysc. π. συντ. 335 B says: *ἀπειράκις τὰ Δωρικά διὰ ψιλῶν ἀντιστοιχῶν τὰς συναλιφὰς ποιεῖται*. *συναλιφή* includes both what we call crasis and what we call elision. The original text of our MS. has one example of the retention of the tenuis in crasis, fr. 1 (b) 13, none of its retention in elision, and at fr. 1 (b) 4 and 6, 15 (b) 3?, 27, 2 (all the instances of κ' before an aspirated vowel) no variant either. 2429 fr. 1 ii 15 seqq. likewise seems to imply a MS. with χ' ἀν-. [I believe there survive in the quotations traces which suggest a difference of treatment between τ' followed by ' and κ' followed by ', the tenuis being retained in the one case, see, for example, fr. 35, 11; 58; 62 K, but not in the other, e.g. fr. 35, 13; 170, 18 K.]

Fr. 5 4 *πωλά* i.q. *πρᾶσις* Harpocr. 163, 18. *ᾶ* to indicate the genitive singular, the *α* being short in the accusative plural, cf. *μωρᾶς* Epich. 9, 2 K, et al.

Fr. 6 9 γλ]υκύν.

Fr. 8 2 Below the presumed *α* of the marginal entry is part of a hair-line not accounted for. If *εφι* was written—and I am not sure it was not—it would be apposite to recall that a *Χφίγξ* is attributed to Epicharmus (fr. 127–8 K). But I am uncertain how proper an abbreviation of its name this would be. The surface is damaged but I think that letters following would have left some trace.

3 Presumably *θύετ(ε)*; see note on fr. 15 (b) 7.

Fr. 9 2 *δέλ[φ]ακο[ς]*.

Fr. 15

(a) . . . . . ] [ .  
 ]υ[ . . . . . ]μενοι [ .  
 ]γαρ[ . . . . . ]πουσε[ .  
 ]φατ[ . . . . . ]μυ[ .  
 ]σιπ[ . ]ου·λίκαλώε [ .  
 5 ]νιππονεξα[ .  
 ]. ἤτεϊδ'έτι [ .  
 ]εισα . ονλ[ .  
 ]ηράτη . [ .  
 . . . . . ] ε[ .  
 . . . . . ] [ .  
 ]χυμινδοκη[ .  
 ]μεινονδαμωε [ .  
 5 ]πιδε[ ]ξαιτ[ . ]τιε·  
 ]. εντη·ναγρωε [ ] [ .  
 ],καφαν·ονστύηι [ .  
 ]ουτοελεγει: οπατη[ .  
 ]αιματονδια: ο[ .  
 10 ]οντοκα· [ .  
 ]ουτώλεγειν [ .

Fr. 15 (a) and (b) are located vertically by the fibres of the back. I am not sure of the interval between them but believe it possible that (b) 1 preserves the beginning of the marginal note referring to (a) 8

Fr. 16 is associated with them on the strength of a general similarity of appearance and a presumption about the contents (see comm. fr. 16, 12)

Fr. 15 (a) 1 What I have taken for υ might be parts of two letters, e.g. αρ 2 [ ., the lower left-hand end of a stroke rising to right, α probable, λ not ruled out 6 ], the right-hand tip of a cross-stroke touching the middle of the left-hand side of η, e.g. ψ 7 Between α and ο remains compatible with the right-hand branch of υ and the cross-stroke of τ 8 [ ., a dot level with the tops of the letters

(b) 5 The left-hand side of η is anomalous 6 [ ., a trace near the line compatible with κ Between η and υ a horizontal stroke near the line, equivalent to our ∩, 'close up' 7 Between υ and ο the lower part of an upright descending below the line [ ., a trace level with the tops of the letters, possibly a stop, possibly the beginning of a note



## Fr. 16

]η[  
 ]αν[  
 ]υμο[  
 ].τεμ[  
 5 ]μοσιωνκαιμ[  
 ]αυτεΐσαφεωσκη[  
 ]ραπωλεσαςμ'ωφιν[  
 ]οστιν'ευφαμί'τιλήξ[  
 ]λει'οτιδεγεγενη[  
 10 ]δίκωμητικακογ[  
 ]ατονπρωκτέ[  
 ].ονιππονεχα.[  
 ]εκένοτοτηροσώ[  
 ]αν'ενηκέγ'ώη[  
 15 ]λονγα'κα[

Fr. 16 3 Or ω[ 4 ], the upper part of an upright 12 ], the right-hand end of the cross-bar and a trace of the stem of γ or τ [ , the lower left-hand part of δ or λ 13 Of ]ε only the upper part; ο possible The accent on ε perhaps deleted

## Fr. 17

].ν[  
 ].[.]τε[  
 ].δηδ[  
 ]εμήν[  
 5 ]εικαικ.[  
 ]ρεια[

Fr. 17 Perhaps to be associated with fr. 15, 16, 18  
 1 ], a trace of the foot of an upright 2 ], a cross-stroke as of γ, τ, followed by the lower left-hand part of a letter like ε 3 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke slightly below the tops of the letters 5 ], the lower part of a stroke ascending to the right, α or λ

## Fr. 18

]υσειν.[  
 ]λαρεύς[  
 ]ητωνπ[  
 ]τελεγε[  
 5 ]υτινι[  
 ].νιθν[  
 ].ιθνε[  
 ]θύεα[  
 ].'αλλ'εΐα[  
 10 ]υσκαίχα[  
 ].[.]...[

Fr. 18 Perhaps to be associated with fr. 15-17  
 6 ], perhaps only offsets 7 ], the overhang of ε, ς, or the like 9 ], the upper part of an upright sloping slightly to right, e.g. ν

## Fr. 20

].[.]...[  
 ]αφ'οιδ'οτ[  
 ].εναριστα.[  
 οπατηρ  
 ]ε:καιπροσθατου.[  
 5 ].'ατένεσεχαροντ[  
 ].τοιφορα'ένεπιστατ[  
 ]ερηνταλλ[

Fr. 20 1 Of the last letter a nearly horizontal stroke on the line 3 ], the lower end of an upright descending below the line [ , the start of a stroke ascending to right 4 ], the start of a stroke ascending to right 5 ], perhaps the tip of the upper right-hand arm of κ, χ 6 ], the end of a stroke descending from left

## Fr. 21

]δο[.]...[  
 ]εσμα.[  
 ]αμέγ'ό.[  
 ]πράβην.[  
 5 ]ταγ'άνυσ[  
 ]ωνβα[  
 ].[

Fr. 19 1 A dot on the line followed by the lower part of an upright 2 ], the right-hand part of a cross-stroke about mid-letter level Before ε the foot of an upright

Fr. 21 1 ], a dot below the line 2 ], the start of a stroke rising to right, e.g. λ, χ 3 ], a dot below the top of the right-hand side of φ 4 ], a dot on the line 7 ], a letter with a horizontal top

## Fr. 22

.  
 .  
 .  
 ]μ[  
 ].[  
 ].οθξ.[  
 ]καικαικατ[  
 5 ]δετηνοξέν[  
 ].ρουλιάντᾱ[  
 ]εγωναυτ[  
 ]φθεγξα[  
 ].εἰτ'ουγα.[  
 10 ]δοιτουτον:[  
 ]μαλλονητο[  
 ].ῶτα[.]τε.[

**Fr. 22** 3 ], a dot on the line  
 a stroke descending to right  
 surface is damaged; perhaps part of two letters, of which the second would be ι  
 hand end of a cross-stroke as of γ, τ  
 the bottom left-hand arc of a circle  
 only scattered ink  
 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters

## Fr. 24

(a) ]ωπακος [ .  
 ]ττέἰδηλεγω[  
 ]αεναλλετ[  
 (b) ]ενο[  
 ]αμεεγᾱ[  
 ]ῶλιεκάνω[  
 ]αμανδοκεε[  
 5 ]εστερον [

## Fr. 23

.  
 .  
 .  
 ]ξέ.[  
 ]θρακε[  
 ]ντίμα.[  
 5 ]εικάκᾱ.[  
 ]νθ.ακε[  
 ]όμε[  
 ]ριετα[  
 ]φριε[  
 ].τος'ου.[  
 10 ].οτειδᾱ[  
 ]εδοντα[  
 ].[.]νπ[

**Fr. 23** 1 ], the lower end of a stroke descending below the line, perhaps ρ though rather distant from ε  
 3 ], the upper tip of a stroke descending to right  
 4 ], the tail of a stroke descending from left  
 ], the start of a stroke ascending to right  
 5 Between θ and α traces compatible with ρ  
 9 ], the tail of α or λ  
 ], γ or π  
 10 ], an upright  
 11 Above ε an upright, apparently ι  
 12 ], perhaps the tip of the left-hand arm of ν

## Fr. 25

(a) ]ν.[  
 ]λεθροεη[  
 ]δομεε[.]κ[  
 (b) ]ναφαιετ[  
 ]νεστουτεἶγ.[  
 ]μαλιετα:κ.[  
 ].ῶνεκ'εε[  
 5 ]κωδ[

## Fr. 26

.  
 .  
 .  
 ]κα[  
 ]άρ'ε[  
 ]κ.ουδ'

**Fr. 24** (a), (b) evidently stood in close proximity. There may be nothing missing between them but I cannot say with absolute certainty which stood above and which below

(a) 1 ], the extreme tip of a stroke descending from left, touching the lower left-hand side of ω  
 3 Of ]α only the tip of the tail  
 (b) 2 ], the foot of an upright

**Fr. 25** (a), (b) have a strong general resemblance to one another but I cannot bring them into any particular relation

(a) 1 ], the foot of an upright  
 (b) 2 ], the start of α or λ  
 3 ], the start of a stroke rising to right  
 4 ], the right-hand edge of an upright  
 5 What I have given as the mark of length has a twist upwards of the right-hand end (which is all that remains) and might be taken for a shallow

**Fr. 26** 1 Above and to left of κ an upright, more probably part of an interlinear letter than the tail of a letter in the previous line  
 2 Above ε a dot between the lines on the edge of the break

**Fr. 15** (a) 2 ἀ[. ]π]πουε[ a possibility, as well as the obvious ἀ[νθρά]πους.

4 ]π]ου.

λῖ for λίαν Epich. fr. 223 K. The accent of Hesych. λιπόνηρος, for what it is worth, is against recognizing a compound here. For the accentuation καλώς cf. Sophron fr. 22 K.

6 e.g. λα]ψή or some other similar form.

(b) 3 χ' could have been written, e.g. αἰχ' ὑμῖν δοκῆ[ι.

4 ]μειν, an infinitive, e.g. εἶμειν οὐδαμῶς.

5 Both letters before δ have been inserted (by the original hand). It is not a correction of ἐπιδείξαιτο to ἐπει δέξαιτο, though this may have been intended.

6 Apparently κεντη ν, so written, with the wrongly left gap between η and ν filled up by a horizontal stroke. The infinitive ending<sup>1</sup> is usually represented in the MS. by -ειν, fr. 1 (b) 8; 4, 4; 5, 5; 27, 12; 31 (a) 1, (b) 3; 51 (b) 20 and probably elsewhere; similarly in the Rainer fragment of Ὀδυσσεύς αὐτόμολος 99, 4 K. But we find -ην with a variant -έν here: -ειν with a variant -ην at l. 11; 16, 9; possibly -ην without variant at 20, 7; and -ειν changed to -έν in the Rainer fragment 99, 5 K. -έν is nowhere required by the metre; a natural long is required at fr. 85; 174, 2 K.

7 κάφαιρον ἐτύη. For ὕ in contrast to the Attic ὕ see Schulze, *Qu. ep.* 309 seqq. If θδετ(ε) occurs at fr. 8, 3 the normal relationship between Attic ὕ, Doric ὕ, in this word (ib. 334 seqq.) is not maintained.

8 ὁ πατήρ may be a note explaining who somebody referred to in the line (perhaps οὗτος) is. But a comparison with fr. 20, 4 suggests that it may specify the speaker (of the second part of a divided line?). There may be another occurrence in fr. 52, 2 *interl.*, but there is doubt about the decipherment.

9 See on fr. 28.

**Fr. 16** 7 ὁ φιν]τατ- or a proper name, e.g. Φιν]τία?

8 εὐφάμει.

10 δε]δοίκα: see on fr. 1 (b) 10.

11 προκετ[ represents an unrecorded word. It looks as if it might be a jocular invention, but προεκ, προακ also might produce προκετ.

12 ἵππον: perhaps refers to the same beast as fr. 15 (a) 4 and 5 (? also 3).

13 κέντο for κέλετο is quoted from Alcman and I take ἐκεντο (though scarcely κέντο) to be theoretically possible for Epicharmus. But I very much doubt whether it is to be recognized here. If we articulate τὸ τήνος ('which he . . .'), I can give no account of the accent on κεν, but I think it may well have been deleted and there is no difficulty in ]κεν (or ]οκεν, which I cannot rule out).

**Fr. 20** 2 c]ἀφ' οἰδ' ὄτ[ε cf. Epich. fr. 254, 1 K.

4 ὁ πατήρ: apparently the speaker of the part of the line beginning καὶ πρόσθα. See n. on fr. 15 (b) 8.

5 ἀτενέε: adverb, Epich. fr. 124, 1; 172, 4.

No form ἐχάροντο from χαίρειν is attested until Quintus Smyrnaeus (χάροντο vi 315), but there seems no escape from it here.

<sup>1</sup> I am not, of course, speaking here of infinitives in -μεν, -μειν.

**Fr. 21** 4 The η is difficult in conjunction with the accent. ἀε]τράβην. [ would be expected to be -βαν. [ Hesych. has γραβάν· κ αφίον, βόθρον, which the accent as well as the ending rule out, apart from the fact that, though only the right-hand parts of τ survive, γ could not, in my opinion, be read. I do not think there is any doubt that the hand is that of the Epicharmus.

**Fr. 22** 6 *ύανία* fr. 148 K.

**Fr. 23** 2 ἀν]θρακε[ς and 5 ἀ]νθρακε[ς, or a derivative.  
10 ]Ποτειδα[ν.

**Fr. 24** (a) 1 The traces indicate ]λαπακος, but what is taken as the tail of λ might be casual ink. If it is, there is no problem.

2 Since Ap. Dysc. π. ἀντ. 106 B says that Epicharmus habitually uses ἐμέι for ἐμέ, it is not too much to recognize τεί for cé here, though Apollonius quotes only Alcman for this Doric form and the regular Epicharmean form is τύ (not τεί). I suppose πο]τ τεί (or κα]τ τεί). I cannot account for the variant acute accent proposed.

(b) 3 I know of no word recorded that ends in ωλικάνω.

**Fr. 25** (b) 1 Epicharmus is quoted in *Κωμαστὰ ἢ Αφαιστος* (fr. 84-86 K). I cannot say what relevance this fact may have. The name might well have occurred in the *Πύρρα*.

2 τουτεί: see Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* ii 269.

5 ἴκω probable.

**Fr. 27** \**Ηβας γάμος* or *Μούσαι*?

	Traces
...[ ]...[ ]	
].ομωρος ουδεχ' ημι. [ ]ω. [ ]	].ομωρος ουδέ χ' ημιά[ρ]τιον[ ]
].αινειθυμονευωχεουμένων	].ιάνει θυμόν ευωχεουμένων
].κακοπτηνφαντικαιποττανέλαν	].κας οπτην φαντι και ποτ ταν ελαν
5 ]θ' επεινυφαιλονείμεινκάδοκω	].θ', επεί νυν φαίλον είμειν κα δοκώ
].σελανανυγρονεκψ[ε]δχορνάκος	].εσελάναν υγρόν εκψύχων νάκος
].τις ούτώδ' οιομαιποττανέλαν	].τις ούτώ δ' οίομαι ποτ ταν ελαν
].κ' είμειν η πονηρότερονετι	].κ' είμειν, η πονηρότερον ετι
].ωρλεγωται[ ]κόνά	].ως λέγω ται[ ]κονά
10 ].ολεθρονκαιταχρέατουλευκαρου .φντ... [ ]	].ολεθρον και τα χρέα του Λευκάρου
].μ.νονγατάχ' απόκ' ωμοσασθεον	].μ.νον γα τάχα ποκ' ωμοσας θεόν
].δν' χρηδετω[ ]σσομενων'ικαιλεγειν	].δν' χρη δε των [ε]σσομένων τι και λέγειν
].αταλοιπαλεξον:υδατιθερμωικ' ούποκα	].α τα λοιπα λέξον.—υδατι θερμωι κ' ούποκα
].[ ]ταβαλανηιάκ' ης άνευ πυρος	].[ ]τα βαλανηία κ' ης άνευ πυρος
	δκαντικοι

**Fr. 27** 2 Cf. Epich. fr. 52 K There is a spot of ink above and to the right of ε which may represent

3 The second letter may be ι (though, perhaps because the surface is damaged, the upper part of what is preserved does not much suggest it), in which case the dot between it and α will be the right-hand dot of a trema ο inserted between ε and υ by the original hand. There is some unexplained ink above and to right of the ε but I do not think ε has been cancelled 4 ], the upper part of an upright 6 Of υ only the tips of the left-hand branch and the tail 9 ],

apparently the middle part of an upright [ ], in the gap a narrow letter, followed by a trace level with the tops of the letters, e.g. [ε]; but η would also suit and then no letter would be missing 10 ], the top of an upright Marg. Rubbed and perhaps deleted. Apparently -αντ' 11 ], either the middle of the curved right-hand stroke of α, followed by the lower part of the tail of ρ, or perhaps a single υ. Between μ and ν the middle part of an upright which because of the spacing I should judge more probably the back of ε than 12 ], the right-hand arc of a circle, perhaps θ;

ρ not suggested though not ruled out 13 Of ]α only the tail 14 What I have taken for a mark of quantity might be a trace of a grave accent with a dot to its right (the lower dot to its left being lost) Before τ apparently the top arc of a circle, above the general level ος made out of ου, by the original writer?

**Fr. 27** There is a prima facie case for attributing this fragment to the \**Ηβας γάμος* or the *Μούσαι*, which was a *διασκευή* of it, since the two kinds of bread that occur in v. 1 were mentioned along with others in those plays (Athen. 110b). But it must be remarked that in Athenaeus' list these two names are separated from each other by others, that none of those others recurs here, and that these two (and one of the others) come together in Sophron fr. 27 K. There is therefore no great certainty about the identification. Kinds of bread are likely to have been named in many places. See n. at ll. 13 seq. As appears clearly from v. 12 the metre is the trochaic tetrameter.

3 *ιάνει θυμόν* can hardly be doubted, in spite of the difficulty of being sure of the reading of the letter before α. The spelling -χεου- is supported by *προμαθεούμενος* at fr. 1 (b) 12, where -εου- is two syllables.

4 *ελα* (Attic *είλη* or *είλη*) meaning 'blaze', of the sun, is attested by lexicographers and grammarians (Hesych. in *ελα*, *βέλα*, *γέλαν*, *γέλας*, and derivatives, Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 772, Eustath. 667, 22 and 1573, 45), but is here for the first time preserved in a literary context, though recoverable in Pind. fr. 123, 10 (*ελαί* spelt *ελε-*). (*ελη* is offered by R, but not by V, at *Vesp.* 1.c. It is not metrically guaranteed and is in conflict with the rest of the evidence. At Aristoph. fr. 627 *προς είλην ιχθύων ώπημένων* may be noted.)

]κας might be either subject or object, e.g. *γυνα]κας ος κολλ]κας*.

5 Perhaps *θέρειθ'*, cf. *προς την είλην θέρεισθαι* Lucian *Lexiph.* 2.

If we accept the variant γα, we must reject the mark of length. A dactyl in the same place, e.g. fr. 44 K; -έω as two syllables, e.g. fr. 35, 4 K, 78, 1 K. (Contraction or scansion as one syllable is the rarer, *κοω* fr. 35, 14 K, *ποιέω* ib. 3.)

6 *ποτ]ι σελάναν* 'by moon'? If there is a contrast with *ποτ ταν ελαν*, there may be a joke, not 'by moonlight' but 'by moonheat'.

*ψύχειν* and its compounds, *ἀνα-*, *ἀπο-*, *δια-*, *κατα-*, can mean 'to dry', though *εκψύχειν* is not attested in this sense. The Homeric limitation to drying in a draught (Schol. A *Il.* xi 621) is not kept up by later authors. *εκψυχου* appears to be what was originally written and has not been corrected, -χων being a variant not a correction. I have no satisfactory explanation of it.

9 *ταν εικόνα* naturally suggests itself but I am at a loss to account for the additional accent on *να*.

10 No Leucarus figures in Greek mythology. There is a probability that Epicharmus called Deucalion *Λευκαρίων* (see fr. 114 seqq. tit. K) but what relation, if any, the name Leucarus has to Leucarion I do not know. See on l. 13.

11 The accentuation *τάχα ποκ' ωμοσας* appears to imply *τάχ' από κ' ωμοσας* 'you would perhaps have solemnly denied' or 'abjured'. The alternative is presumably to be interpreted as shown but *τάχά* is not, so far as I know, in accordance with any ancient theory; see Chandler, *Gr. Accent.* 2 p. 279.

12 'Something of the future must be mentioned' seems preferable to 'what of the future must be mentioned?' particularly since the next line contains the words (of another speaker?), 'tell the rest'. If *τί* were accepted, the word order would be harsh.

13 The change of speaker signaled by the colon is a warning that there may be more than one speaker represented in the preceding lines also.

The sense of vv. 13 seq. I should suppose to be 'There would have been no hot baths, if there were not fire' but I find a difficulty in imagining how precisely this was put. From the occurrence in the marginal note of some part or derivative of *καταντλείν* together with the statement 'this is also the Attic use' one would infer that some part or derivative of *καταντλείν* stood at the beginning of v. 14, and *υδατι θερμώι καταντλείν τι* can be said as well as *υδωρ θερμόν καταντλείν τινός* (see e.g. Galen. in Hipp. π.δ.δ. iii 58), but how does *βαλανηια*, whether in the sense of 'bathing establishments' or of 'baths' come into this? I should expect 'baths would not be provided with hot water, if there were not fire'. On the other hand, if we postulate *οὐδ]ε τα βαλανηια κτλ.*, how is 'there would be no hot-water douches' to be expressed in the space available at the beginning of l. 14? *ης καταντλείν*? I cannot refrain from pointing out that the sentence, however precisely expressed, might easily be uttered by or have a reference to Prometheus and there are other lines in the piece which could be interpreted

in the light of the Prometheus story. V. 2 There would have been no bread, if there had been no fire to bake it. Vv. 4, 7 The sun's heat is (was, would have to be) used by people without fire. V. 10 The form *Λευκαρίων* might be a patronymic, in which case under the name of *Λεύκαρος* Prometheus is actually mentioned. If there is anything in this, there is a case for putting this fragment with frs. 1-3 and assigning it to the Pyrrha-Prometheus-Deucalion play.

## Fr. 28

.[  
 η[  
 π[.].[  
 ηυδ[  
 5 ναυτ[

Fr. 28 1 The top and bottom of an upright 3 ], the lower part of an upright

## Fr. 29

]εθ' απιωντ.[  
 ], διεκροτε[  
 ], λαποτορ[  
 ], [. ]ατεδδ[  
 5 ], τίκαιτήσα[  
 ], ετι ω.[

Fr. 29 1 ], a small curved stroke off the line, perhaps ο 2 ], an upright close to δ, probably ν 4 Some traces to the left of ~ not accounted for 5 For ετ I cannot rule out γρ 6 Between ι and ω a dot level with the tops of the letters ], part of an upright with a dot to the right, e.g. κ, μ, ν

## Fr. 30

10.[  
 ]. [  
 ]εόντινα[  
 ]τωνπροτ[  
 5 ]τερά[  
 ]. ιδε[  
 ]. ν[

## Fr. 31 (a)

]. . . δειν [ ]  
 ]νίων [ ]  
 ]. ᾶ [ ]  
 ]ρβορωι [ ]  
 5 ]· [ ]  
 ]τε [ ]

## Fr. 31 (b)

]ενα[ ]  
 ]γδάλας· δ[ ]  
 ], ιείν· [ ]  
 ], α· [ ]

## Fr. 32

Col. i	Col. ii
]. . . δειν [ ]	] ηκ' εν[ ]
]. . . δειν [ ]	] κάιτα[ ]
]. . . δειν [ ]	] εμεπ[ ]
5 ]· [ ]	] μαν· [ ]
]. . . δειν [ ]	] το· [ ]
]. . . δειν [ ]	] αλλ' επ[ ]
]. . . δειν [ ]	] ουδεπ[ ]
]. . . δειν [ ]	] ποτιθε[ ]
]. . . δειν [ ]	] ιθινυν[ ]
10 ]· [ ]	] μηδαμ[ ]
]. . . δειν [ ]	] καιτιδ[ ]

## Fr. 33

]ιτουτ[ ]  
 ]αρ, τοιή[ ]  
 ]άρακαιτρ... [ ]  
 ], αμαν· [ ]  
 5 ]λιπάρει [ ]  
 ]πίθοις· [ ]

Fr. 30-33 may, to judge from their appearance, come from the same region. I should guess that fr. 30, 31 (a), (b) contain the ends of lines of the column preceding that of which the beginnings are contained in fr. 32 and that fr. 33 contains the ends of lines of the same column as fr. 32 the beginnings

Fr. 30 6 ], a trace compatible with the right-hand end of a cross-bar, of which the level suggests ψ rather than γ or τ 7 ], a trace compatible with the top of ε

Fr. 31 (a) and (b) are shown by the fibres of the back to have stood one above the other, but I cannot fix their order or interval

(a) 1 ], . . ., the ink representing the first letter now resembles an apostrophe but the upper right-hand arc of ο or the like perhaps more likely; this is followed by the lower parts of up-rights, the first longer than the second 3 ], the foot of an upright

(b) 3 ], the lower part of an upright close to ι, e.g. μ, π

Fr. 32 col. ii 1 Above η to left the lower end of a stroke in the margin descending from left Above ε (inserted later by the original hand) the base of a circle resembling a 'short'

Fr. 33 3 ], a trace of the bottom of a letter off the line, e.g. ο, followed by the foot of an upright 4 ], γ or τ

Fr. 34

. . .  
]. . .  
]υχηρηζ[  
]κελομ[  
].οσυ.[

Fr. 34 1 The lower part of a stroke descending with a slight curve to left below the line, followed by the start of a stroke rising to right 4 ], the upper right-hand arc of a circle, e.g. β ], the start of a stroke ascending to right, α probable

Fr. 36

. . .  
]  
]εϛ  
]  
]  
]

Fr. 35

. . .  
]κ[  
].ανδρ[  
].'εδειε[  
].γγω[

Fr. 35 2 ], a trace level with the tops of the letters 3 ], the tail of a stroke descending from left, perhaps κ rather than λ ], a dot below the line, perhaps the start of a stroke rising to right 4 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters For γ perhaps αι or δι From the position of ^ it would be inferred that ω was part of a diphthong

Fr. 37

. . .  
]. . .  
]λαζ[  
].οστ[

Fr. 37 3 ], an upright, π possible

Fr. 38

. . .  
]οσπα[  
].: ...[  
] δοκ[

Fr. 38 2 ], an upright

Fr. 39

. . .  
] ]  
] ]  
].ρ [ ] .εφυραν.[  
].ανλ[...]ν [ ]  
5 ]ότι: [ ]  
]τερων: [ ]  
] ]  
]. . . [ ]  
]ανεφα.[ ]

Fr. 39-40 look as if they belonged to the same neighbourhood but I cannot arrive at any conclusion about their relative positions

Fr. 39 3 ], perhaps the base of ο but the surface is damaged and there may be parts of two letters of which the first would be ε or c The loop of ρ is lost and υ is not ruled out 4 ], the lower part of an upright 8 ]η or ]τ, ]ψ

Fr. 42

. . .  
]ητο.[  
]εχαδ[  
]καιτι.[  
]ωσεγω[  
5 ]ουμα[  
]αλλατ[  
]...[

Fr. 42 1 ], the left-hand edge of an upright 3 ], the start of a stroke rising to right 7 The right-hand stroke of α or λ followed by the apex of α, δ, or λ and this by what suggests the upper part of the back of ε

Fr. 40

Col. i . . .  
] ]  
] ]  
]μεν. , ουδεποστθ[  
5 ] ] , εστέκ' αμ[  
] ] α.[...].κ.[  
] ] κω[

Fr. 40 Col. ii 4 There is a dot below ε not accounted for 5 αχ[ or απ[ After κ the top left-hand side of α, δ, or λ

Fr. 41

. . .  
] ]  
] ]  
]ε φ[  
] ] ανω[  
5 ] ] δ' ]  
]ν φ'μηποστ[  
] ]  
] ] ποτιθι[  
]πιθιγωνενα[  
10 ] .[.] .ητε. ο'η[  
] ] τους[  
] ] κ.τ.[

Fr. 41 10 marg. Before ε perhaps ν or ω After ε apparently the top left-hand arc of a circle 11 marg. Above τ an upright, part of a suspended letter γ[ or π[ Perhaps κατ

## Fr. 43

· 1.εν  
]βάτεκα[  
].αιδεπα[  
].οκη[

Fr. 43 2 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke as of γ, τ 3 ]γ suggested, but ],τ could be read

## Fr. 44

· ]παιλλᾶ[  
· ]'νητ'εκ[  
].στοπαιδιο[  
]λυππαμ[  
]φιλιονι[.

Fr. 44 2 ], the tip of a tall upright 3 ], the upper part of an upright turning over slightly to left, perhaps ω 5 ], perhaps the back of ε

## Fr. 45

· ]ολ[  
]μα·[  
].θμυ[  
]ηε[

Fr. 45 2 ], the left-hand end of a horizontal stroke on the line

## Fr. 46

· ]ιτε[  
]ατα[  
]μεγω[  
].φ[.

Fr. 46 1 ], a tail as of α or λ 3 ], the foot of an upright

## Fr. 48

## Fr. 47

· ]α[  
]ρουτα[  
]γάρμ[.  
]φ[.].μω[  
5 ]].[

Fr. 47 3 ], three traces in a vertical line, perhaps ε

· ]μουκο[ ]θε ... ] ]  
5 ]οναυχ[.]α: [ ]  
].ρωπου.εος[ ] [ ] [ ] ]ανθρ[.]· ο[ ]  
]τοπαιδιογ [ ]  
].ει[.]μαι[ ] [ ] [ ]  
]τηνοςκαθ[ ] [ ] [ ]  
10 ]ἀμ[.]ν: [ ] [ ]

## Fr. 49 (a)

· ]...[...]  
]λασερωεμ[  
]μεσαμε[  
]δεφορ[

## Fr. 49 (b)

· ]τάρα[  
]χ[.

Fr. 49 (a), (b) apparently from the same neighbourhood

Fr. 49 (a) 1 Of the first two letters a dot below the line followed by the middle part of a stroke descending left to right, of the second two the lower part of an upright with the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching its top, e.g. η, followed by the start of a stroke ascending to right

Fr. 28 5 In case τ[ represents the article, it may be remarked that *ναι τόν*, *ναι μὰ τόν* and *ναι μὰ* without *τόν*, in combination with a god's name, all occur in Epicharmus (fr. 81 K; 2427 fr. 15 (b) 9; fr. 82 K, 2427 fr. 51 (d) 26, 53 (c) 6). The negative form similarly *οὐ μὰ* (fr. 170, 5 K), *οὐ* with the simple accusative (2427 fr. 8, 2, 53 (c) 9); I have no example of *οὐ μὰ τόν* or *οὐ τόν*. *οὐ μὰ* at 2427 fr. 42, 5 is ambiguous.

Fr. 31 (a) 4 βο]ρβόρωι.

(b) 2 ἀμυ]γδάλας, acc. plur., as Epich. fr. 150 K.

Fr. 32 ii 2 τοι elided, as at fr. 1 (a) ii 7?

8 ποτιθε[; so ποτιθιγών fr. 41, 8 seq. But ποτθ[; fr. 40 ii 3. I cannot account for the variation, which is not due to metrical considerations. At Epich. fr. 85 K ποτθ. not ποτθ. is implied by the παράδοσις of Apollonius Dyscolus. At fr. 170, 8 and 10 K ποτθ. of the παράδοσις of Diogenes Laertius may be considered ambiguous.

Fr. 33 I see nothing to preclude the possibility that these line-endings are the ends of the verses of which fr. 32, 5-10 are the beginnings. Both the external and internal indications are, so far as they go, consistent.

2 τοιη[ prescribed by the lection signs, but η is a puzzle.

Fr. 34 3 ]κελομ[; ἐκελήσατο, ἐκελη[; Epich. fr. 71, 2; 99, 5 K.

Fr. 40 Col. ii 3 The same beginning Epich. fr. 85 K.

4 i.e. ἐτέ κ' ἀμ[ made out of ἐτε κἀμ[ (or, less probably, ἐτέ κἀ μ[).

5 I do not know the meaning of the sign like a large circumflex accent to the left of this line. It does not resemble any part of a coronis. It might be the top of an 'ancora' but is closer than would be expected to the beginnings of the lines and part of the shank should be visible.

Fr. 41 3 It is not easy to imagine how this line can have ended but there is no choice about the rough breathing. I should guess *οί* (e.g. *αὐτῶι τε οί* as in Epich. fr. 71, 3 K).

4 *αν<sup>ω</sup>*; perhaps a note that a line has been omitted here and supplied in the upper margin.

Cf. κατ<sup>ω</sup> fr. 54 i 5.

8 See n. on fr. 32 ii 8. I can establish no relation with fr. 40 ii 3.

Fr. 44 1 παιλλος, 'a male child', attested by Hesychius and Tanagra inscriptions. The feminine hitherto not recorded.

Fr. 48 5 ἀχ[εν]α appears to be too much for the space.

6 ἀν]θρώπου θεός probable but not verifiable.



## Fr. 51 (a)

]νψ' ακουω[  
 ]αχεσσαιπ[  
 ], ιτοις' αλλ' ὀπεικ...[  
 ] ακουση κεισεκιν...[  
 5 ] γ' αἴ[... ] αιλῆν' αταρ...[  
 ] κα, εκανε' τοδδεν[ (b) . . . ]  
 ], ξαιτιςγαρεχει[ ]  
 ] γερμᾶ[ ] αν...[  
 ], οναοσεξ[ ], [ ] ac  
 10 ] λευτᾶς' ολκασε[ ] η: π[...]  
 ], υνεστᾶνριν[ ] αναιολαῖ  
 ] ρα: . γαδη[ ] αματι  
 ] ὄραιστατ[ ] ἡρᾶσπολυ  
 ] μομι. τ. [ ] δενα ουνεχῶ  
 15 ] . . [ ] ανη[ ] ντροπιω κειτούς[  
 ] νου. [ ] ακακῶς  
 ], οικ[ ], περιπλέας.  
 . (c) . ] ὠ[[ε]δαφος  
 ] ατῆν[ ] χετο κ[ ] (d) .  
 ] ζωνασε[ ] λειω θρακιαν  
 ] θρ[...]. [ ]  
 (f) ] . . [ ]  
 ] ρευω... [ ]  
 ] ανηλᾶντ[ ]  
 ] οηητέα[ ]  
 25 ] λεγε[ ]  
 ] ρος [ ]  
 ] c [ ]  
 30 ] λα[ ]

Fr. 51 (a)-(f) Their general similarity of appearance suggests that these fragments come from the same region. With regard to their more precise location there is the following evidence:

The level of (b) is fixed in relation to (a) by the cross-fibres; its interval from (a) less certainly, though I think probably, by vertical fibres preserved at the ends of (a) 4-5 and the beginnings of (b) 13-14. If I am right, only two or three letters are missing between (a) and (b) at ll. 13-14.

The level of (c) is fixed in relation to (b) by the cross-fibres. I cannot trace in the fibres of its back any of the vertical fibres of (a) or (b) but I believe it more likely that it stood between (a) and (b) than to the left of (a) or the right of (b). (d) and (e) are virtually one fragment. Besides the strongly marked cross-fibres the internal evidence supplied by l. 24 fixes their level relatively to one another and at the same time determines the interval between them. The level of (d)+(e) is fixed in relation to (b) by cross-fibres, some of them the same as those appearing in (c), and in relation to (f) by other cross-fibres. There is nothing to show their distance. The position of (f) below the right-hand side of (b) is in harmony both with vertical ridges seen on the front and with the vertical fibres of the back but I cannot say it is absolutely established by them.

3 ], the foot of an upright on the line . . ., two traces, one on, one above the line, e.g. α, followed by the extreme lower tip of a stroke descending below the line 4 ι (after η) appears to be rewritten on an original ι. There is a dot below the line, between this and κ 5 Or ]χ [..], narrow letters . . ., the left-hand tips of α, δ or λ, followed

## Fr. 52

] α[  
 ] θάτω[  
 ] τιδι[  
 ] δ[

(e)

] πατ[  
 ] νουτᾶ[...]. [ ]  
 ] οσευχαι[  
 ] ε[...]. ανδρ[  
 ] υς' α' γ' ε[  
 ] ριςτιος' α[  
 ] υδ' αλλᾶς[  
 ] πεμνα[  
 ] εμνασα[  
 ] ἱηις ουδ[  
 ] ειν[  
 ] φ[

by the top of a circle 6 ], the top of an upright slanting slightly to right Between α and ε traces suiting the tips of the tail and right-hand end of the bar of τ 7 ], the tail of α or λ 8 ], the start of a stroke rising to right 9 ], the lower end of a stroke descending from left followed by the lower part of an upright ], two dots on the line, perhaps parts of two letters 10 . . ., the foot of a stroke sloping slightly to right followed by the top of a circle; above and between them apparently two dots close together and the lower end of an acute accent 11 ], the tip of a stroke rising to right, κ not suggested but not excluded 12 . . ., the top of an upright with the start of a cross-stroke to right followed by a dot at a slightly higher level and this at an interval by the upper part of an upright 13 ], the tail of a stroke descending from left to touch the foot of an upright with traces of a cross-stroke above, possibly ]ατ, but this does not account for all the ink 14 Between ι and τ very faint traces compatible with the ends of c ], off the line the start of a stroke slanting slightly to right 15 ], the tail of a stroke descending with a slight curve from left, followed by the foot of an upright 16 ], the upper right-hand arc of ο or ω ], the lower end of a stroke sloping strongly to right 17 ], perhaps the overhang of ε but the surface is damaged and ε, ρ cannot be ruled out (b) ], apparently υ but the surface is damaged and ρ cannot be ruled out 19 ], the foot of an upright 20 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters followed at an interval by the upper part of a slightly concave stroke and this by the upper left-hand arc of a circle, perhaps ] . . . should be written, e.g. ] θε ], a nearly horizontal stroke on the line 21 ], the top of a small circle followed by the top of ε or of the left-hand stroke of ω ], the top right-hand arc of a circle, e.g. the loop of ρ, the overhang of ε, or the like 22 . . ., the upper left-hand arc of a circle followed at an interval by a dot below the line on a single fibre ], a dot off the line; perhaps part of a 'colon' 23 . . ., perhaps μα, but the ink has flaked off Between α and γ a dot on the line consistent with ι 24 ], the lower part of an upright 26 (d) ], a dot level with the tops of the letters, perhaps a stop (e) ], traces consistent with the back of c 27 ], the left-hand side of a circle 29 ], the tail of α or λ 30 For φ possibly υ

Fr. 52 2 interl. Between ρ and α a letter with a horizontal stroke for its top but prima facie neither π nor τ After α the left-hand end of a cross-stroke suggesting τ 4 ], an upright

Fr. 51 1 ψ(ε): Ap. Dysc. π. άντ. 128 B, cf. 122 C. In Epich. fr. 109 K the παράδοσις of Athenaeus has failed to preserve the Syracusan form.

5 I suppose αἴσαι. The paroxytone instead of properispomenon accentuation of the first aorist infinitive is specifically Doric; ἀμύσαι Alcim. Parth. col. ii 31, ακούσαι 2387 fr. 1, 3, καταρρυφῆσαι PSI 1214 fr. d, 2. I do not know why the properispomenon accent should be given alternatively here and apparently exclusively at l. 10 (τε]λευτᾶς).

6 κατέκανε: cf. PSI 1091, 4 seq.

This word belongs to the Doric vocabulary, from which Xenophon has taken it.

11 κύνες, τῶν ρίνες . . . αἰόλαι. If a ship is in question (see note on l. 15), these may be fish; cf. Epich. fr. 47, 48, 68 K.

13 If τῆνᾶς is a separate word, there is perhaps a parallel to the perispomenon accentuation in 2387 fr. 3 ii 21, where κηνᾶς may occur. I do not see how it is to be explained either here or there, except possibly by analogy, right or wrong, with the attested plurals, τηνῶν, ἀλλῶν. τῆν[ again at l. 19. At l. 25 ἀλλᾶς, but this might, though it seems improbable, be 'sausage'.

14 I suppose the marginal variant is best understood as ουνεχ' ὠ( ).

15 τρόπιν here and τῶδαφος, l. 18, harmonize with ναός, l. 9, and δλκάς (though about this there are other possibilities), l. 10. But to me at least this group brings no illumination on the general sense of the passage.

The marginal note appears to be a variant and complete as it stands. I can make nothing of it. The stroke above τo appears to be slightly farther to the left than an acute accent on ο would be expected to be, τ(ων), for example, rather than τo, though I cannot rule τo out. The grave accent on υς precludes 'pig' and 'where' (δεπερ Epich. fr. 99, 5 K) and implies that υς is the first syllable of a longer word accented farther forward.

16 κακῶς: on this accentuation see Chandler § 885 note 5.

17 περιπλέας: the short to denote accusative plural.

23 Probably αἴ γ(α).

24 *Il.* ix 63 begins with the words ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιτος ἀνέτιος. I should say that these words adjusted to the dialect (*Ιετιώντ'* Epich. fr. 35, 4 K) must be recognized here, though they do not go very kindly into a trochaic tetrameter but are presumably an interposed hexameter. (Another hexameter, without context, perhaps from the *Σειρήνες*, Epich. fr. 123 K.)

Fr. 52.2 *interl.* If δ πατ[ήρ, cf. fr. 15 (b) 8 note.

Fr. 53

<p>(a) Col. i</p> <p>]ι ]ραι[</p> <p>] ]</p> <p>] ]</p> <p>]ν.ομεσ</p> <p>5 ]κω.[ ]</p> <p>]με[ ] ουκηνητοχεντοιςθ*</p> <p>]χεαν:</p>	<p>Col. ii</p> <p>[</p> <p>[</p> <p>[</p> <p>α[</p>
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<p>(c)</p> <p>]ν.α[</p> <p>]θγιον.[</p> <p>]νεκ'ο[</p> <p>5 ]ηυδετο[</p> <p>] αλλαν[</p> <p>] ναιμαδ[</p> <p>[ ]</p> <p>]τιδ'αγα.[</p> <p>] παντα.[</p> <p>] ουδιόνκ[</p> <p>10 ] τοδεκακ[</p> <p>] τωκακ.[</p> <p>] π[.].[</p> <p>] αλ.[</p>	<p>(b)</p> <p>]νουδαμ[</p> <p>]ταδε [</p> <p>]ωνθαν[</p> <p>]ατιν[</p> <p>5 ]ζε[</p> <p>]...[</p>
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Fr. 53 (a) and (c) are located vertically by the fibres of the back. I see no means of determining the interval between (a) ii 2 and (c) 1. The level of (b) relatively to (c) is fixed by the cross-fibres. I do not recognize any of the fibres of the back of (a) in (b) and the simultaneous correspondence in (b) and (c) of lines of writing and cross-fibres is in favour of locating (b) on the right of (c)

(a) i 4 Between ν and ο a dot level with the tops of the letters, possibly δ, λ 5 ], the foot of an upright slightly hooked to left ], the middle part of an upright with a trace of ink to right level with its top 7 ], ρ suggested at first sight but the loop is small and there appears to be a trace on the left-hand side of the upright ii 1 The foot of an upright

(b) 4 Or λ 6 The second trace consistent with '

(c) 1 Between ν and α the foot of an upright 2 ], traces of the lower part of an upright 4 *margin.* ], a dot on the line followed by a stroke descending with a curve to right, neither η nor π suggested, perhaps α 7 ], an upright 8 ], the start of a stroke ascending to right 11 ], the top of a circle, perhaps ο 12 ], a dot above the general level 13 ], the lower end of a stroke rising to right, λ probable but α equally possible

	Fr. 54	
Col. i	Col. ii	Fr. 57
<p>]πολυ</p> <p>] ]</p> <p>]ετ:</p> <p>] ]</p> <p>5 ]ωι κατ<sup>ω</sup></p> <p>]εν·</p> <p>]ν<sup>υ</sup>μηδιαρις<sup>θ</sup>τοα.αμπερ<sup>γ</sup></p> <p>αλλασολον...υλεγειν<sup>φ</sup></p> <p>μ</p> <p>] ναιει;αλλαθ<sup>σ</sup>ο<sup>υ</sup></p> <p>]ν [ ]</p> <p>10 ] [ ]</p> <p>] [ ]</p>	<p>']α[</p> <p>]δηλον[</p> <p>]ταδεκ[</p> <p>]τωννε.[</p> <p>5 ]νοχοα[</p> <p>]ιπατε[</p> <p>]δεγυδ[</p> <p>']</p> <p>']</p> <p>']</p> <p>']</p> <p>']</p>	

Fr. 54 Col. i 3 ], the right-hand arc of a small circle off the line; ο, ρ, φ possible 7 *margin.* Between α and α what looks like χ tilted to right Between ν and υ the start of a stroke rising to right, the top arc of a circle, the top of an upright with a trace of ink below the tip on the right-hand side 8 *margin.* γ' or τ' Col. ii 5 The left-hand tip of a cross-stroke as of τ

Fr. 57 For the location of this fr. see commentary 1 ], an upright 4 ], the lower end of a stroke rising to right, χ probable but λ and even α not ruled out 6 ], the tail of a stroke descending from left 7 The spacing recommends τ not γ, but the left-hand part of the cross-bar would have to be supposed totally vanished



## Fr. 55

.  
]μ[  
]ccείτ[  
]υλικ[  
]ανικ[  
5 ]σεχο[  
]καικα[

## Fr. 58

.  
].αν[.  
]τονδε[  
].γατω[  
]καττ[.  
5 ]λαμφ[

## Fr. 56

.  
]νος[.  
].μ[.  
]λεγειω[  
]μες·ε[  
5 ]διδα[

**Fr. 56 i** Of ζ only the lower hook [., the left-hand end of a horizontal stroke on the line 2 ], the upper end of a stroke ascending from left [., the start of a stroke rising to right, a probable

## Fr. 59

.  
].τ[  
]δετ[  
].μ[  
]μ[.  
5 ]ξ[

**Fr. 58 i** ]. and [., the feet of uprights 3 ], a dot well below the line 4 [., the lower part of an upright

**Fr. 59 i** ], the foot of an upright at some distance from τ, perhaps τ 3 ], an upright with a trace to its left about half-way up; either ], ι or ]η, ]μ

**Fr. 53 (a)** Col. i 6 marg. I take this more probably to mean 'the sign χ was not in Theon's copies', i.e. in their margin, (cf. e.g. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* v 124 τὸ δὲ χ ὄτι Ε, τὸ δὲ σημειῶν ὅτι D, G, Q) than 'the letter χ was not' in their text. Examples of the sign in these fragments at fr. 54 ii 4, 7.

(i) 2 ..]υγιον[ : φρύγιον ἱετόρησον is cited from the *Κωμῶναι* of Epicharmus (Hesych. in v., fr. 86 K), but I see no great likelihood that it should be recognized here. The accentuation of the papyrus implies a diminutive of dactylic form. If φρύγιον is substituted in the quotation, an unknown, though perhaps theoretically possible, noun arises in company with which ἱετόρησον has no evident suitability. When it is remembered that the *Κωμῶναι* is also cited as *Κωμῶναι ἢ Ἄφαιστος*, it is a reasonable guess that the joke (πέπαιχεν Hesych.) was to call Hephaestus Φρύγιος.

The only recorded word I find which fits the indications is the late ζευγιον (for ζυγιόν).

3 Perhaps οὐ]νεκ' ο[. If I have rightly located fr. 51 (d), (e), (f), there is no possibility that this line stood on the left opposite fr. 51 (a) 14. The fibres do not run across, but this by itself would not be enough to disprove it, since there might have been a 'joint' in the gap. But the bottom of the column falls too high.

4 ηὐδε: cf. fr. 28, 4. I suppose ἦ οὐδὲ . . . Similarly ηυκ' fr. 12 (a) 2.

**Fr. 54 i 3** Both accents seem to be in the same hand and nothing denotes a preference for one over the other. Some Doric adverbs (of place), perispomenon according to ancient grammatical doctrine, are reported to appear as oxytone in medieval MSS. If this fact has any significance, I should doubt whether it had any relevance here, since -οει (-ρει, -φει) can hardly be one of them.

5 cf. fr. 41, 4.

7 marg. It might at first be thought that μη διαιρείθ(αι) τὸ α. contained a recommendation to take the complex of letters at the end of the line, of which the most probable reading is *αχαμεργ*( ), as one word. But little as I can make of the first part of this, I am still less able to see any plausible alternative articulation, which is by implication rejected. Besides, in ancient grammatical usage, the opposite of διαιρεῖν in this sense is ordinarily expressed not by δλον but by ἐν, ἐν ποιεῖν, ὑφ' ἐν ἀκούειν, καθ' ἐν ἀναγιγνώσκειν or the like. It must therefore be considered whether διαιρεῖσθαι here does not mean 'construe a word separately from its immediate neighbours', though since we have not the context this interpretation cannot be verified.

On any theory I find a difficulty in understanding the form of the sentence, since διαιρεῖσθ(αι) refers to the activity of a commentator, whereas ἀλλὰ δλον . . . νῦ(ν) λέγειν, 'the tenor of what he says in this passage', would in ordinary grammatical usage refer to the author.

I cannot make any guess at the three letters after ολον, except that the second appears to be β or ρ. If ν is not νῦ(ν), they might attach to it. Similarly λεγειν<sup>β</sup> might be divided λέγει νῦ, but what the isolated μ, for which there is room after β, means I have no idea.

8 θ<sup>ε</sup> ο<sup>ν</sup> are presumably part of the reading. If Theon were being quoted for a reading, the order οὔτω θέων would be expected.

ii 5 *κυμφορο*( ) is close to the beginning of the line to its right, in the position where the name of a character might be written. It appears to be in the same hand as the marginal note at i 8.

**Fr. 57** It is possible that these beginnings of lines are part of fr. 54 ii. The fragment can be so placed that the tail of the α in 54 ii 4 is found in the ink before the ι in 57, 6, giving *αἰπάτε* in this line and, e.g., τ[ο]δέ in the next. But the point of attachment is narrow and though I think I can follow the fibres across over a wider front I cannot be sure of it. I do not know what could be made of *αἰπάτε* so accented.

## Fr. 60

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 ] . [ ] ε υ ς ο ε τ ρ [ .  
 ] δ ο κ ' ο ι [ . ] μ α ι [ .  
 ] π . [ ] . ο κ α ' [ .  
 ] ν π α λ υ γ κ ο τ [ . ] ν [ .  
 5 ] α φ η ς [ .

**Fr. 60** Apparently the top of a column      2 The first ο appears to have a stroke across it and a dot above, but it can hardly have been cancelled      3 ], the lower part of a stroke descending from left; perhaps a most likely      After π the foot and tip of an upright, before ο a dot below the line

**Fr. 60** 2 οί[ο]μαι.

## Fr. 61

] ρ ε μ ' ε γ ω ν τ η . [ .  
 ] [ . ] . ὀ ν ᾱ ῖ σ τ ο ν [ .  
 ] ν τ ε ς μ [ .

**Fr. 61** 1 ], an upright with a trace to right about at its middle

**Fr. 61** 2 ὀνᾱϊστον and ὀνᾱϊστα (fr. 51 (a) 13, where there is a break above να, in which a mark of length and an acute, if written, would have disappeared) may be explained as the superlative form of the word of which ὄναιον ἄρειον, preserved by Hesychius, is the comparative. ὄνειος is the form given by the lexica as the positive of the comparable Ionic ὀνήϊτος, but it appears only to be a deduction from itacistic spellings in grammatical writings (Hesych., Suid., Tzetz. in Lyc. Alex. 621). ὀνήϊον actually found at [Nicander] Alex. 627 is ambiguous.

The accentuation ὄν- in fr. 51 implies a view that the ι was syllabic, but it has no *trema*.

## Fr. 62

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 ] . ἰ ο ι [ .  
 ] . α ν [ ] . κ κ ᾱ ρ [ .  
 ] χ ε ι λ [ ] ι . [ .

**Fr. 62** is made up of two scraps which perhaps were farther apart than I have placed them. They may well have stood (at an interval not to be determined) below the right-hand side of fr. 1 (b) 1 ], a slightly sinuous upright      2 ], the tail of a stroke descending from left      ], on the line the foot of a stroke hooked to left      ], the lower end of an upright below the line

## Fr. 63

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 ] . [ .  
 ] λ α ε [ .  
 ] . γ ε κ [ .  
 . . . . .

**Fr. 63** may come from the same neighbourhood as fr. 34, abreast of ll. 1-3, but I cannot judge whether on right or left

1 An upright descending well below the line  
 2 ], the start of a stroke rising to right      3 ], a dot above the general level

## Fr. 64 Vacant

## Fr. 65

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 ] . κ α τ [ .  
 ] . ἰ κ ω χ [ .  
 ] . [ .  
 . . . . .

**Fr. 65** 1 ], an upright      2 ], the edge of an upright about level with the tops of the letters      3 A small circle, perhaps ο or the loop of ρ, followed by the top left-hand arc of a small circle

## Fr. 66

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . η .  
 5 ] ν ε [ .  
 ] . [ .

**Fr. 66** 1 ], an upright with foot hooked to right and a trace to right of the top; whether ν, or ε intended, anomalous      ], the foot of an upright      3 ], the lower part of a stroke rising to right

## Fr. 67

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 ] ο ι κ ι [ .  
 ] λ α ν ρ [ .

**Fr. 67** 1 ], the start of a stroke rising to right

## Fr. 68 Vacant

## 2428. DORIC COMEDY

Though there is only one unambiguous piece of evidence that the following scraps (shown by the occurrence of the 'colon' in fr. 2 to contain dialogue) are in Doric, namely, the accentuation of π]οιησεῖς in fr. 1, 4—a second probable but not certain piece is τν in fr. 2, 5—not much hesitation will be felt about attributing them to a writer of Sicilian comedy. The likeliest I suppose to be Epicharmus but I have not identified any known line of his.

The hand is a well-executed example of a fairly common type of medium-sized upright rounded uncial, represented by, e.g., 1362, P. Ryl. 482, &c., and attributable to the late first and early second centuries. I should place this specimen in the second. The lection signs may be by the writer, as the correction at fr. 2, 4 appears to be.

## FR. 1

]ην. μω[  
 ]διεπλεκον[  
 ]νεφιλεου[  
 ]οιησεῖςιδω[  
 5 ]ολυνηδη[  
 ]. . . . ιστ[  
 ]εν.[  
 ]. τοι.[

Fr. 1 1 Between ν and μ a flat stroke on the line; if a serif, larger and flatter than most Of ω[ only the left-hand stroke 6 ] . . . , the upper part of a stroke descending in a slight curve to right, the top of an upright hooked over to left, the upper end of a stroke descending to right, an isolated dot like the upper dot of the 'colon' dividing speakers, the top and a trace of the foot of an upright abnormally close to ι 7 .[, the upper left-hand arc of a circle 8 ],, an upright .[, the upper left-hand arc of ο or c

Fr. 1 Perhaps ends of lines, e.g. *διέπλεκον βίον, ποιησεῖς ἰδών, πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον*. There is a certain congruity between the first and third of these and the presumed references to old age in fr. 2 but I see no external evidence which points to their having belonged to the same column.

## FR. 2

].[  
 ]ροσ:[  
 ]λλωτ[  
 ]ώ'c  
 ]ου]τογγη[  
 5 ] τυγηρᾶ . . . . ] . . ω[  
 ]ρηπᾶστοντο:τη[  
 ]c:π . . . ]:οντω'α .[

Fr. 2 5 ],, on the line a trace like the turn-up of c .[, the left-hand arc of a circle ] . . , the base of ε or c, followed by what now looks like a complete γ but may be a damaged τ 7 .[, the left-hand arc of a circle .[, the foot of an upright

Fr. 2 4 seq. Perhaps π]ω (ε) c τὸ γῆ[ραc . . . ] c τν γηραc[-.

7 Perhaps πο[oc]; If -ν, part of ν should be visible.

## Fr. 3

. . .  
 ]..[  
 ].γαρτ[  
 ]εραν[  
 ].ηνο[  
 5 ]αιτιπ[

Fr. 3 1 The foot of a serifed upright, followed by the start of a stroke rising in a curve to right, probably μ 2 ], the right-hand arc of a small circle off the line 4 ], τ or possibly γ

## Fr. 4

. . .  
 ]εττ[  
 ]πολλο[

Fr. 4 2 ], an upright

## Fr. 5

. . .  
 ].ε[  
 ].ικν[  
 ]...[

Fr. 5 1 ], the bottom left-hand arc of a circle; μ among the possibilities ], an upright 2 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke as of γ

## Fr. 6

. . .  
 ]ε[  
 ]εν[  
 ].ιδ[

Fr. 6 1 ], an upright 2 ], ο or c 3], the lower right-hand arc of a circle

## Fr. 7

. . .  
 ]α[  
 ].των[  
 ]νω[

Fr. 7 2 ], an upright or slightly concave stroke

## 2429. COMMENTARY ON EPICHARMUS, 'Οδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος AND ANOTHER PLAY?

In *Mittheilungen aus den Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* v there was published a fragment ascribed on internal evidence to the 'Οδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος of Epicharmus. This ascription is now confirmed by the recurrence among the lemmata of the commentary published below of lines there found together with a line quoted by Athenaeus as from that piece.

The relation of our commentary to the scholion preserved in the upper margin of the Rainer papyrus is touched on in the note on frr. 1 (a) ii + 1 (b) 24, its relation to the Epicharmus commentary of Apollodorus I see nothing to indicate. It is not certain that the whole of what is preserved refers to the same piece. Frr. 6 and 7 may well refer to another.

The general character of the exposition is similar to what is ordinarily found in such *ὑπομνήματα*, a mixture of lexical, critical, and interpretative notes. The layout, that is, the method of distinguishing lemma and comment, is more than ordinarily elaborate, though none of its single features and perhaps not the use of all in combination is unique. The method is in principle as follows: Between the end of each lemma and the beginning of the comment on it there is a blank space. Between the end of each comment and the beginning of the next lemma there is a colon (:; cf. e.g. 356. In PRIMI 17 ÷, in 2258 :—, is used instead). Further, every lemma occurring at the beginning of a line (whether it starts there or runs over from the line before) is marked by making it project slightly to the left. Every lemma starting within the line is marked by a paragraphus under the beginning of the line in which it starts. Quotations other than lemmata are not distinguished.

The hand is small, with many ligatured letters and other cursive characteristics, of a type often found in marginalia. It may be compared with the marginalia in 841, 1234 and assigned to the later second century.

Fr. I (a)

Col. i  
 ], πλ[  
 ], υειν[...], εθις[...]  
 ]κτοσου, ροσεμενων  
 ], ημερα επιφαινετα  
 5 ], χηματι μ. τ[...], εμ  
 ]τουσελλην[...], απο  
 ], σπηγαγε[...], σο  
 ], εδεκτων[...], κων  
 ], επειρ[...], φω  
 10 ], τασαντ[...], ρ  
 ], ηγοις[...], μαν  
 ], ονρ[...], ητ[...]  
 ], ηστης  
 ], χρωντο  
 15 ], ευκλω  
 ], νφορμον  
 ], ε μου  
 ], οστ[...], τ[...]  
 ], τουανα  
 20 ], ευγε  
 ], τ[...]

Col. ii  
 (b) ]τροφ[ | ], η, αξιου λεγειν[  
 ]ρατω, [ ]νακ( ) οαριστοξενος[  
 [ ]τος δ[ ]α μεσου π. ... λ[  
 [ ]... ρ[ | ], επενεγ[...], αλλ, γεα[  
 5 [ ]αιειν περι, [...], γτω[  
 κ[...], επιμελητην[...], τυπ[...], [...], κα επι τη δομ. [ ]  
 πλ[...], πλανη φλυαριαν: του τονη ο'ωσεγων η καυνη: [ ]  
 [...], ευνορθωροισιον περι... συντυχων αποταν [ ]  
 [...], ]ταιοδοικαταπαξιωσιντη[...], ]σει του οφθαλμου [ ]  
 10 ]απαζομενων: ητοι ]ατο του ραστα αντου' εργασαι [ ]  
 ]μνηητο[...], ]αλλορωτω ζ'υρ' ανης διαμεσου τοτι [ ]  
 ]υρ' ανης[...], ]γαρ αλλορωτω δε τα χαι οι πελας: ωσεωπο [ ]  
 ]νηρατος ομ[...], ]πον οση μανει οδ' τον κακοθηγε δε [ ]  
 ]χεται και ε[...], ]λεγει λιθωσπον ηροισιον ανταρκως [ ]  
 15 ]υγαρεμπα[...], ]αιμ' οντωσαλοι ησθαι κακον δυναται [ ]  
 ]μερο[...], ]ιτην διαστολη η αμφιβολια εινα ειαν [ ]  
 ]... [...], ]στι ]ηται εσται ονου[...], ]ου γαραν οντωσαν [ ]  
 ]οδον, ογα[...], ]οις θαι κακο[...], ]ετο ανσαι μ. [ ]  
 ]... [...], ]ου γαραν ανσαι μητην οδοντο [ ]  
 20 ]θειαν και μη προσποιητωσαλοι [ ]  
 ], αι χανυσαι μ οεστι θρηνησαι [ ]  
 ], ηνσαιμι τοχ[...], ]λοιησθαι κακον [ ]  
 ], ηντ[...], [...], ]νωσεγω: [ ]  
 ], ωτε και λε[...], ]ωσραδιν' ει [ ]  
 25 ], εροι σε μεν[...], ]θωντου [ ]  
 ], τεσερονειν[...], ]γαγινεσθαι [ ]  
 ], ερωντειν[...], ]ουστραγικου [ ]  
 ], εβη[...], ]ασινη τοις δε [ ]  
 30 ], ]να παρ' α προσδοκίαν επενεγκη: [ ]  
 ], ]κατα τροπον και εοικωσσε [ ]  
 ], ]ουθ οετροσταν ηποκριτων [ ]  
 ], ]ημεισ οδω ευξαιμενον τινα [ ]  
 ], ]εοικωσσε[...], ]ροδοκει [ ]  
 ], [ ] [ ] [ ]

Fr. I (a)

Fr. I (a)+(b)

Col. i  
 ], πλ[ ]η  
 ], φυν [ ] μεθιστ[ ]  
 νυ]κτος οὐ προσεμένων  
 5 ], χηματι μετ[...], ]εμ-  
 ]τους 'Ελλην[ας] απο  
 π]ροήγαγε[...], ]σο  
 ]ε δ' εκ των [...], ]ικων κτλ.

Col. ii  
 ], η, ( ) αξιου λεγειν[  
 ]ρατω, [ ]νακ( ) ο Αριστοξενος [ ]  
 [ ]τος δ[ ]α μεσου π. ... λ[ ]  
 [ ]... ρ[ ], επενεγκ[...], ]ν αλλ' εγεα[ ]  
 5 [ ]αιειν περι, [...], ]γτω[ ]  
 κ[ ] επιμελητην [ ] τυπ[...], [...], ]κα επι τ(ων) ηδομ. [ ]  
 πλ[αν ]πλάνην, φλυαριαν, του τονη ού(τως) ως εγώνη και τύνη. [ ]  
 α[ ]ευνορθωρος οίόνπερ επί... συντυχών από των [ ]  
 10 ]ταίς οδοίς κατά άπαξίωσιν τή[...], ]ησει του οφθαλμου [ ]  
 ]απαζομένων. η ετι αν(τι του) η το τυχόν. ράιστα αν τουτ' εργασαι-  
 ]μην η το τ[υχόν], αλλ' ορέω τί ωξύρ' ανήεις; δια μέσου το 'τί <ωι-  
 ]ξύρ' ανήεις; [ ] ού γάρ αλλ' ορέω, τοι δε τώχαιοι πέλας'. ως εω πο-  
 ]νηρ(ότ)ατος ο μ(έν) [ ] τον επί]πονον σημαίνει ο δ(ε) τον κακοθήη εγδέ-  
 ]χεται και ε[ ] λέγει 'αλιθίως πονηρός', οίον αυταρκώς. [ ]  
 15 ο]ύ γάρ εμπα[λιν χ' ανύς]αιμ' ούτως αλοιησθαι κακόν δυναται [ ]  
 ]μερο[ ] την διαστολην αμφιβολια είναι. εαν [ ]  
 ]μεν [ ] γάρ το ο]η[ ] τωσ[ ] επί]ηται εσται ο νο]ε[ ]: ού γάρ αν ούτως ανύ-  
 ]οδον, το γάρ [ ] α]λοιησθαι κακόν. [ ] εαν δ]ε το ανύσαιμ [ ]  
 ], ... [ ] ]ου γάρ αν ανύσαιμ την οδόν, το [ ]  
 20 ]κατ' αληθιναν και μη προσποιήτως αλοι-  
 ]ησθαι κακόν. [ ] και χανύσαιμ ο εστι θρηνησαι-  
 ]μι [ ] θρηνησαιμ: το γ[ ] αρ α]λοιησθαι κακόν [ ]  
 ], ]ληνητ[...], [...], ]ούτως εγώ, [ ]  
 25 ]μειν ταυτα και τοις δεξιω]τέροις εμευ[...], ]ελ]θών που [ ]  
 ], ]τες εροδσιν, [...], ]γαγινεσθαι [ ]  
 ], ]τέρων τειν[...], [ ] ]τους τραγικους [ ]  
 ], ]εβηη π. [...], ]ασινη η το 'τοις δε- [ ]  
 30 ]ξιωτέροις εμευ[...], ] ]να παρ' α προσδοκίαν επενέγκη. [ ]  
 ], ]ώς εμίν δοκείτε πάγχυ και ] κατά τρόπον και εοικότως ε-  
 ]πεύξαθ', α]ι τις ενθυμείν γα λήμ ] τ]ουθ' ο ετερος των υποκριτων [ ]  
 ], ]ημ εισόδωι ευξαιμένου τινα [ ]  
 ], ]εοικότως ως εμίν δοκεί- [ ]  
 ], [ ] [ ] [ ]

Fr. 1 (b) is a detached fragment which the fibres of the front show is to be placed on a level with fr. 1 (a) ii 1-4. I am not so sure about the evidence of the fibres of the back but it appears to me to be consistent with a location close to fr. 1 (a) ii 1-4, so that δ[ε]α is to be recognized in fr. 1 (b) 3+fr. 1 (a) ii 3 and no letter is to be supposed missing in the following line  
 The position of fr. 1 (c) must be left more vague. The general appearance of both front and back suggests that it formed part of fr. 1 (a) iii

Fr. 1 (a) i 1 ], a dot slightly above the level of the letters  
 right-hand loop After ν the foot of a stroke on the line  
 stroke 4 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters  
 hand upper branch of χ 7 Of ]ρ only a dot which might represent the extreme right-hand side of the loop 9 ], a stroke curving to right as it descends to the line, e.g. η or μ, followed by ε or c  
 The letter after α also appears to be suspended but the surface is rubbed Before φ a dot level with

the tops of the letters 10 ]ερ suggested but ]αρ not excluded 12 ]μ or ]ρ probable  
 After φ the top of a stroke with a shallow curve above and to right of it which should perhaps be combined with the following sign, an upright descending below the line, to give a suspended η; if so, ομ<sup>7</sup> would be a natural interpretation of the remains There follow the foot of a stroke with a hook to right on the line, a space for one letter containing no trace of ink, the extreme lower end of a stroke descending well below the line, a dot on the line The suspended φ is abnormally made, but I see nothing more probable 14 ], a dot on the edge of the break, above the level of the letters 15 ], traces compatible with α, λ, μ 18 ], the top of a stroke above the general level, e.g. ι, ν Apparently τλ<sup>9</sup> was first written and λ converted into α by means of a stroke joining the left-hand tips 19 ], a dot near the left-hand end of the cross-stroke of τ

Fr. 1 (b)+1 (a) ii 1 Of φ only the lower left-hand arc ], a loop with faint traces of ink below, φ or perhaps ρ Against the right-hand stroke of η the tail of a suspended letter 2 ], an upright descending well below the line; ρ suggested, not φ 3 After ου the surface is rubbed

Fr. 1 (a) Col. iii

Fr. 1 (c)

]. . . [ . . . ] . . . [ ]  
 ]ομενους και[  
 ]ικαθυρματ[  
 ]εμοικαιανα.[  
 5 ]θασσον στραφ[  
 ]αλλαγηναι:ω[  
 ]ποτρωκτουρη[  
 ]ασιονχωριο[  
 ]λειστεφηνη[  
 10 ] . . . ραριθμω[  
 ]κουε . . . πα.[  
 ]ειανκαιτοσχη[  
 ]γμ'εφατοισαχ.[  
 ] . . . ονδοτιοιστραω[  
 15 ]κληειδες δυκ[  
 ]θωνησυρακ[  
 ]αι . . . ] [

]. ατονουσα[  
 β[ . . . . . ] . . . ον οιμοι.[  
 ] . . . ] . . . ] ν: μητικερτ[  
 5 ]αυνηδετονεστιτουτ[  
 ]ψηταικαθενουναυ[  
 ]λαφαντιθημειν παροιμι[  
 ]μεσουγαρουδεκαθρημηρο[  
 ]ξίωνοκαλχασοδυσει.[  
 ]τοιςεπεσθαι τοιςδολοιστη[  
 10 ]πεφυλαχθαικαιπαρηρηει[  
 ]παροιμ'μηπουτικαιτ.[  
 ]ταισφρωνμηπουτικαι[  
 ]εσαισχρον αηδητηνονου.[  
 ]ηκαιπαρπροδοκιανεπη[  
 15 ]οιδοτικαικ'ακασκαμου[  
 ]δοκιμωντι διαβο[  
 ] [

and the present appearance of the ink may be deceptive. τ is followed by a dot level with the tops of the letters and this by a blank space of about one letter. The next would naturally be taken for ν; after which there was a blank space if the succeeding sign is the upper angle of ε but not if it is the upper angle of α. Or μ[ 4 ] . . . , an angle like that of the upper right-hand side of α followed by the tops of two strokes, the first slanting upwards from left to right, the second nearly vertical. Of ρ[ only the loop, which is unusually small. Before επ two dots one above the other; not apparently: κ[ ]ν the lost letter must have been very small or narrow. I cannot rule out αγ 5 . . . , π or ε. For ]ν I cannot rule out ]ω. 6 After π a dot on the line and at an interval the tail of an upright descending below the line; these appear too far apart for combinations like ετ, αρ. After μ apparently the extreme bottom of a loop, as of α, ε, &c., followed by the start of a stroke rising to right. 7 Above the line, between ο and ν, there is ink which is perhaps to be interpreted as an acute on ο with its upper end touching the tail of a letter descending from the previous line. 8 . . . , a short horizontal stroke, level with the tops of the letters, with a trace of a stroke descending

Fr. 1 (a) Col. iii

Fr. 1 (c)

]. . . [ . . . ] . . . [ ]  
 ]ομένους και[  
 ]ικὰ ἀθύρματ[α  
 ]εμοι και ἀνα.[  
 5 ]θασσον στραφ[  
 ]αλλαγήναι. ω[  
 ]ποτρώκτου πρ[  
 ]ασιον χωριο[  
 ]λειστεφηνη[  
 10 ]νεν αριθμω[  
 ]κουε . . . πα.[  
 ]ειαν και τὸ σχη[  
 ]συμβολατεύει]ν μ' ἔφα τοῖς Ἀχα[ιοῖσιν  
 ] . . . ον δ' ὅτι τοῖς Τρώ[εσι  
 15 ]κλή ἔιδες δυκ[  
 ]θων η Συρακ[  
 ]σαι . . . ] [

]. ατονουσα[  
 β[ . . . . . ] . . . ον οιμοι.[  
 ] . . . ] . . . ] ν. μή τι κερτ[ομ  
 5 ]αὐνδετόν ἐστι τοῦτ[ο  
 ]ψηται. καθ' ἐν οὖν αὐ[  
 ]λα φαντι θημειν παροιμι[  
 ]μέσου γὰρ οὐδὲ καθ' Ὀμηρο[ν  
 ]ξίων ὁ Κάλχας Ὀδυσσει.[  
 ]τοις ἐπεσθαι τοῖς δόλοισ ἢ τ[  
 10 ]πεφυλάχθαι και παρηρηί[ν  
 ]παρ' Ὀμή[ρωι] 'μή πού τις και Τρ[ῶας  
 ]ται σάφρων 'μή πού τις και[  
 ]ἐς αἰσχρο[ν] ἀηδη ἢ τὸν οὐκ[  
 ]ἢ και παρὰ προδοκίαν ἐπή[νεγκε  
 15 ]οἶδ' ὅτι και κ' ἔκασκα μου[  
 ]δοκιμων τι διαβο[  
 ] [

from its right-hand end, a similar stroke with a trace of a stroke descending from its left-hand end, after an interval the top of an upright; if the last is ι, . . . [ ] should be written 9 ], the top of an upright slightly above the general letter-level; of the following η only the tops of the uprights 14 ], a curved stroke like the upper right-hand part of α, ε 16 Of ο[ only the top arc; ε not ruled out 17 Though the υ of ανν is suspended this is no guarantee that the word was not completed in the next line, cf. the end of l. 29, where η is suspended, though the word is complete 19 Of the letters at the beginning only the tops remain and the signs may be combined in various ways. The first is a stroke above the general level, slanting upwards from left to right, resembling an acute accent or a sign of contraction but not, I think, either; next, an apex, as of α or λ, followed by the upper part of a stroke with a slight slope to right; next, the tips of two strokes; next, the top of an upright with a cross-stroke slightly below the general level, going to right; next, the top of a small loop followed by a short horizontal stroke and this, at an interval, by the top left-hand side of another loop at a higher level 23 ] . . . [ ], a dot level with the tops of the letters followed by the top of a loop

above that level, perhaps  $\beta$  or  $\theta$  . . . ], the top of an upright : after  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  looks more like  $\iota$ , cf. l. 29 24 seq. Fr. 99 K 1 seq. 26 . . . ], the tail of a stroke descending well below the line 27 . . . ], a trace compatible with  $\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron$  . . . ], apparently the lower tip of a stroke descending well below the line, but possibly the left-hand dot of a trema over  $\iota$  in l. 28 28 . . . ], a stroke descending in a curve from left to right with a trace of a stroke, ascending from left to right, touching its left-hand side about the middle;  $\mu$  suggested,  $\kappa$  perhaps not excluded . . . ], the bottom of a small loop on the line, followed by the lower part of an upright descending well below it 29 . . . ], the middle part of an upright 30 seq. Fr. 99 K 3 seq. 33 . . . ], the right-hand side of an upright of which the top is a little below the general level;  $\kappa\alpha$  possible 34 . . . ], an upright with a hook downwards on the left-hand side of its top

Fr. 1 (c) 3 . . . ], the top of a stroke, rising from left to right, touching the top of  $\iota$  4 . . . ], a sloping, slightly curved stroke, e.g. the left-hand side of  $\gamma$ ,  $\pi$  9 . . . ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke in the middle position; if  $\epsilon$ , one would expect to see part of the top For  $\eta$  I cannot absolutely exclude  $\upsilon$ , but it would be anomalously made 11 Perhaps  $\epsilon$  . . . or even  $\epsilon$  . . . ], should be written After  $\epsilon$  a large loop suggesting the lower part of a ligatured to some other letter . . . ], an upright ligatured to  $\alpha$  13 Fr. 100 K 3 seq. 14 Below the first  $\omicron$  is a dot of ink 15 ]  $\kappa\mu$  perhaps an alternative

Fr. 1 (a) Col. iii 1 . . . ], the right-hand side of the loop of  $\rho$  or  $\phi$  2 . . . ], the right-hand side of  $\kappa$  or  $\mu$  suggested . . . ], the start of a stroke rising to right from the line 3 . . . ], the left-hand curve of  $\epsilon$  or the like, the lower part of a stroke rising to right from below the line, the base of a circle 8 . . . ], the left-hand side of a circle

Fr. 1 (a) i 16 *φορμον*: there may be a reference to the contemporary of Epicharmus, whose name is given both as *Φόρμος* and as *Φόρμις*, or *φορμόν* may be the common noun, as in the joke reported from *Κείρων*, Epich. fr. 125 K.

Fr. 1 (a) ii+1 (b) 2 *-νακ( )* strongly suggests *φλυακ( )*, but if  $\delta[\iota]\alpha$  is to be recognized in the next line there does not appear to be room for  $\phi[\lambda]$  in this and  $\phi$  itself seems irreconcilable with the indications.

*Αριστόξενος*: possibly the poet, *Α. δ. Σελινούσιος*, referred to by Epicharmus in *Λόγος και Λογίνα* (fr. 88 K). But the same name occurs in the scholion written in the upper margin of the Vienna fragment (l. 4 ] *τι μ(έν) τῶι Αριστοξένωι προσέχειν ἀκηκοέναι δ(έ)*], where the verbs dispose one to see a commentator.

6 A word beginning with  $\kappa$  and meaning 'one who looks after (something to do with) tow' might be a derivative or compound of *κάνναβις*. It would have to have been abbreviated to find room in the space available.

*ἐπι τῶν ἡδομένῶν* seems indicated; the text contained a word 'used of those who are pleased'.

7 *πλ[άνων]* seems to me rather more probable than *πλ[άναν]*. If *τουτόνη* is masculine and belongs to it, the question is, of course, settled. *τουτόνη* is parallel to *ἐγών-η*, *ἐμίν-η* *τίν-η*. But I do not understand the nature of the  $\nu$  in *τύνη* sufficiently to be able to judge whether there is a possibility that *τουτόνη* might be neuter.

8 *ἔυνοθως*: presumably an adverb meaning something like 'with a leer', to judge by the explanation in the next line. Against the articulation *ἔυνοθ'* (say, *μωκ[ε]νόθ'*) *ὄρω*  $c'$  there are the objections that *ὄρω* would be expected (as e.g. in l. 11), that the accusative of *τύ* is *τύ* (though we have no examples of the form in elision), that *ὀλόνηπερ . . . συντυχόντα* would be more natural. But I do not understand the structure of *ἔυνοθως*.

*ἐπι . . . ἐν ὀδῶι* would be expected. At a pinch *ἐν* could be read for *ἐπι*, though  $\nu$  would be anomalously made, *ὀδῶι* is out of the question. *ἐπιόντι* would give the same sense, but is metrically unacceptable and not readily reconcilable with the traces, though not like *ὀδῶι* impossible.

9 'They show their disdain by greeting their acquaintance with — of the eye', I can think of nothing better than *κ[ε]ρ[ε]ί* but should expect a less general word.

10 If the paraphrase implies the text *ῥαϊστά κα τοῦτ' ἐργασάμεν*, note the neglect of the  $f$ . But alternative possibilities are easily thought of.

*ἢ ὅτι* 'or whatever it might be', *ὅτι δὴ(ποτε)*.

11 *τί ἀιζήρ' ἀνῆις*; implies the presence on the stage of two actors (presumably Odysseus and another), which appears to be explicitly stated in ll. 13, 31. 'Solus' in Kaibel's note *CGF* I i p. 109 is therefore mistaken.

12 seq. 'Which puts me in a wretched fix.' For *ὡς* (final, Sophron 48 K) *ἔω* in the sense of *ὡςτε μ' εἶναι* see Kühner-Gerth ii 379 n. 3. For *πονηρός, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιπόνου . . . και δυστυχούς* cf. comm. anon. in Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iii 7 (p. 155 H), quoting Hesiod and Epich. fr. 78 K.

14 E.g. *ἔπιφέρω* 'with an addition (viz. of the adverb *ἀλιδίως*)'. *ἀλιδίως* not attested except in Hesychius, where it is out of its alphabetical position and is given a smooth breathing. It is there explained as *ικανῶς, μετρίως*, which suits with *ἀταρκῶς* well enough, since *ἀταρκῶς* occurs elsewhere where one might have expected *ἀρκούντως*.

15 seqq. The general sense of the comment is clear: There may be a question raised how the line *οὐ γὰρ . . . κακόν* should be punctuated. If the stop is put after *οὐτως*, the sense will be, 'I'm not inclined just to go back to camp. For to get a thrashing is unpleasant.' If after *ἀνύσαιμι*, it will be, 'I'm not inclined to go back to camp. For a thrashing is unpleasant and no mistake.' There is also a reading *χανύσαιμι* instead of *χ' ἀνύσαιμι*; 'I should regret it. For a thrashing is unpleasant. . .'

But there are obscurities in detail: (i) *μὲν οὖν* does not seem quite what one would expect at the beginning of l. 16 and I doubt if [*υπερ*] would fill the space. (ii) I am not sure if the suspended  $\nu$  at the end of l. 17 denotes that *ανύσαιμι* was there contracted; in l. 29 the  $\eta$  of *επενεγκη* is suspended though the word is complete. If *σαιμι* was written at the beginning of l. 18, it appears to be on the short side, if *σαιμι την*, on the long. (iii) I can come to no satisfactory conclusion about the form of the argument in ll. 19 seq. (iv) With the reading *χανύσαιμι*, what is the optative? *κα* has disappeared. *ἀποθάνοις* in Epich. fr. 21 K might be comparable, but is itself called in question. And *οὐ γὰρ ἔμπαλιν* would be left by itself to mean 'no going back to camp', though it is easy to conceive a context in which this would be possible. 'Here are the Greeks. Where must I go now? Not back to camp. I should rue it. A thrashing is unpleasant.' (v) Both the form *εγω* and the colon at the end of l. 23 show that this is still commentary not lemma. I can make no suggestion for filling it up.

17 Since the constructions used with *ετίξεν* (and *ὑποετίξεν*) and equivalents are very inadequately reported in LSJ, I call attention to the facts collected in Friedländer, *Nicanoris . . . reliqq.* ch. 2.

21 The sense is clearly *γράφεται (φέρεται) δὲ και χανύσαιμι*, but there is room for this only if we suppose that *κακόν* did not here follow *ἀλοι[ή]σθαι* but preceded somewhere in l. 20.

*ζή(τει)* in the right-hand margin no doubt has reference to the questionable character of *χανύσαιμι*. 'Look it up!'

24 seqq. The Rainer fragment starts at the top of a column with the lines which form the lemma here. In the upper margin there is a scholion which might have thrown some light on our commentary, but apart from the words *παρὰ προδοκίαν ὡς εἶπεν και τοῖς ἀμαθεστάτοις*, corresponding to 28 seq., *πρὸς τοὺς τραγικοὺς λέγεται ἐπεὶ ἐδόκουν ἐκεῖνοι*, which may correspond to l. 27, *-ομενο( ) ἀνατρέφειν*, which, it is possible, refer to l. 15 (*ἔμπαλιν χ' ἀνύσαιμι*), and *οὐδ' ἴππῳ καθοδοῦμαι και προσπονήσομαι πάντα διαπεπραχθαι*, paraphrasing the text, I can see no relation between them.

24 seq. *λέξοθμ' ὅπως . . . εἶμειν* I suppose to be equivalent to *λέξω ὅτι ἐστίν* (or *ἦν*). For examples of this mixture of constructions see Kühner-Gerth ii 357 n. 3(b).

'I'll say that this was easy even for cleverer men than I', 'this' being 'what I was told to do' and 'cleverer men than I' being a surprise for 'perfect fools'. As the paraphrase (see above) shows, 'I will make out that my mission has been completely carried out' is what is meant.

*ῥαϊδινος* has escaped the lexica though not unattested; *τὸν ῥαϊδίνως λαψῆτι τυ* Epich. fr. 34, 2 K (*ῥαδινῶς* cod. Athenaei).

For the ending perhaps compare *πόντιναι* Sophr. fr. 52 K (but *πόντιοι* Epich. fr. 55 K codd. Athenaei).

27 seq. *τείνει* (or some other form of *τείνειν*) *ἐς τοὺς τραγικοὺς* seems indicated but I cannot reconcile this reading with the trace below the line two letters before the  $\omicron$  of *τοὺς*. *επ[ε]* would be possible but I should say was not so likely from the point of view of usage. If the trace is part of a trema over the  $\iota$  of  $\iota$  in l. 28, another difficulty arises. *ἔν' ἦι τὸ κτλ.* seems ruled out by the following *ἵνα . . . ἐπενέγκη*.

30 seq. It would appear from the words *τοῦθ' ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑποκριτῶν* with which it would be natural to supply *λέγει* that the third and fourth verses of the Rainer fragment, which form the lemma here, belong to a different speaker from the first and second. If the one was Odysseus, the



other might well be Diomedes. The plural subject of *δοκεῖτε* can hardly be other than the Achaeans (who are 'near at hand' above, l. 12). Whether the first speaker resumes with line 5 of the Rainer fragment I cannot make out. The language recalls *Il.* x 205-12 (*κλέος θείον: ὑπουράνιον κλέος, ]ν μολῶν ἐς ἄστρῳ: μετὰ Τρώας μεγαθύμους ἔλθειν, πάντα δ' εὖ σαφα[ ] γέλλαι τὰ τῆρεϊ καὶ τὸς ἄκηθῆς μ[ ταῦτά κε πάντα πύθοιτο καὶ ἄψ εἰς ἡμέας ἔλθοι ἄκηθῆς*), from Nestor's speech proposing to send spies into the Trojan camp.

**Fr. 1 (c) 5** The gap after ]*θασσον* probably should be taken to show that this is part of a lemma. 7 *ἀπότρωκτον* 'curtailment', said to have been invented by Epicharmus (*An. Bekk.* 381, 1, Hesych. in *ἀλφ*, see Epich. fr. 223 K), from whom we are quoted the examples *λτ = λῖαν* (now found in 2427 fr. 15 (a), 4), *Συρακῶ = Συράκουσαι*, some form of which (though it is to be suspected by mere coincidence) occurred in l. 16 below.

13 The quotation has *δὴ με συμβολατεύειν ἔφα*. When *με* is transferred to the position it holds in the lemma, a syllable will be wanting before *συμβολατεύειν*, but I see no guidance in the commentary how the first part of the line should be written.

15 *εἶδε*: cf. *εἶδε* fr. 7, 17.

**Fr. 1 (a) col. iii 2 seq.** These two lines have an alinement of their own, not so far to the left as the outer alinement of the series 6 seq., 9, 13, 15 seq., but farther to the left than the inner alinement of the series 4 seq., 8, 10 seq., 14. It seems evident that l. 3 belongs to the second series and should be alined with it. I am not so certain about l. 2, but to judge by the absence of a paragraphus under its beginning and the space left after ] *όν* it starts with a lemma running over from the preceding line and should therefore be alined with the first series.

5 *Οτ καθ' ἐν. καθ' ἐν* in Epich. fr. 172 K (perhaps from the same play).

6 *παροιμί* seems to indicate the articulation *φαντί* but *θημεν* which results is mysterious. The aorist infinitive of *τίθημι* is *θέμεν* (Epich. fr. 71, 170 K). However, nothing is gained by postulating an articulation which would produce *τιθημεν* since the present infinitive would be *τιθέμεν* (*προδιδόμεν* Epich. fr. 100 K).

7 This has not the appearance of a lemma continued from the previous line and, if it is not, *μέσου* ought to be on the inner alinement. On the other hand, the paragraphus under the beginning of the previous line implies that a lemma began within it and it is not impossible, in spite of first appearances, that l. 7 contains its continuation. *-μεσ οδ* is another possible articulation.

11 The words of warning spoken in the *νυκτεγερσία* by Athena to Diomedes, *Il.* x 511. Schol. T says that they became proverbial.

I suppose *μμεῖ|ται* *Σώφρων* or the like.

Fr. 2

] τοσί[  
] μν.[  
] κκαί[  
] ων.[

**Fr. 2-5** may all come from the neighbourhood of fr. 1 (a) ii.

**Fr. 2 1** ], the top of an upright followed by a curved stroke starting above the line to its right and descending through its upper part; ν not suggested but I see nothing better 2 ], the top of a loop, ε or c, ο, ρ possible 4 ], a dot above the line ], a dot below the line

Fr. 3

] γερου[  
] κως[  
] δεπω[  
] τσουδ[  
5 ] οντ[  
] ητ[

**Fr. 3 1** ], the start of a stroke ascending to right, e.g. λ 2 ], a small loop on the line 5 ], the tip of a stroke above the general level; ν one possibility ], the left-hand side of a round letter, perhaps ω the likeliest 6 Below - there appears to be the top of a loop

Fr. 4

] τουλοχο[  
] αμενοι[  
].]

Fr. 5

] αιδεκ[  
]. ε. ρε[

**Fr. 4 1** ], the foot of a stroke rising from the line with a slight slant to right 2 ], the upper part of a stroke slanting to right, perhaps η ], an angle on the line, δ or perhaps c would suit

**Fr. 5** The fibres and lines appear to correspond to those of fr. 1 (a) ii 18-19 but I cannot locate it more precisely 2 ], the top of a loop ε ligatured to ρ or ρ For ε[ perhaps ο[ possible

Fr. 6

] νε.[  
] ιεπιτρα[  
] ωδιαβ[.  
] κως του[  
5 ] ουελ[  
].....[  
] θεινκαιτ[  
] ρισενανα[  
] ερουοῖ[  
10 ] οχοροε[  
].]

Fr. 7

] [  
] [  
] ροχος[ ] α.[  
] αγειροσειμ[....]. ου οιλ[  
5 ] ενπροσποινυταιουδενοςγε[  
] υἀπληρησων ακρωσάρ' ημαιν[.  
] κακουκατελεγεε: ουτοι περιδιδ[  
] ε ομεμφασπεριτινος... ω[  
10 ] [... ] ω[. ] σοφίζεταιπροσ[. ] υσεν[  
] νταςπεριτινοςτα[. ] ίο[  
] αιουσιηεπιλεγου[. ] τρεσφθορον[  
] κωνομ' ηνηνεκρακεωνο[  
] μολοχοσαπ[. ] νιασημαχ[  
] θικονπεριτη. ατλαντικηνω[.  
15 ] παραρομ' ηφριεαυλοφηναι[  
] γκενωτεχειμει νκακοι: παιζειδ[  
] ουδειεννειδεπωπ<sup>ο</sup> καιτουτοπαρα[.  
] στραγαλοιεφπαιζειαλλασυκοισιονουδ[  
] δν[. ] αταδεκακαταληθεια[  
20 ] ραγαλου[. ] νκω[  
] οσειπεν. ανν[  
] [... ] ε[.

] [  
] α[  
] ροχος[ ] τα[.  
μ] αγειρος εἰμ[....]. ου οιλ[  
] εν προσποινυται ουδενος γε[  
] υ ἀν(τι τοσ) πληρης ἀν. ἀκρωσ ἀρ' ημαιν...[  
] κας οὐκ ἀντέλεγεε. οὔτοι περιδιδ[  
] ε οἱ μὲν φασί περί τινοε... ω[  
] [... ] ω[. ] σοφίζεται πρόε τ[ο]ύεε εν[.  
] ντας περί τινοε. τα[. ] ίο[  
] αιουσι η ἐπιλέγου[εἰ] τὸ 'εε φθόρον[  
] κων 'Ομη(ρ) 'οἴην ἐκ ράκεων δ' ἡέρων  
β] ωμολόχοε ἀπ[. ] νιαε η μαχ[  
] θικόν περί τήν Ἀτλαντικὴν ω[.  
] παρὰ τὸ 'Ομη(ρικόν) 'φρίεεε εὐ λοφίην' ωιδ[  
ἐπήνε] γκεν 'ατεχειμει ν κακοίε'. παιζει δε[  
] οὐδ' εἰε νιν εἶδε πάπο(κα) και τοὔτο παρὰ προ[ο]δοκίαν  
οὐκ ἀ] στραγαλοιε φ(ηε)ἰ παιζει ἀλλὰ εὐκοιε, οἶον οὐδ[  
] δν[ν]αται δὲ και κατ' ἀλήθειαν[  
ἀετ] ράγαλοι τ[ω]ν εὐκων[  
] οε επεν. ανν[  
] [... ] ε[.



Fr. 6, 7 may well come from the same neighbourhood

Fr. 6 1 ], a trace below the line ε ligatured to ι or ρ .[, apparently the cross-stroke of τ but the fibres are in disorder 2 ], probably ligatured αι or ει, but this does not account for a short cross-stroke running right to touch the middle of ε .[, a dot on the line 3 ], a tail running up to the top of the left-hand stroke of ω; μ acceptable .[, on the line the start of a stroke rising to right 5 ], a tail descending from left; λ, μ among the possibilities 6 The feet of letters of which the second and fourth have hooks to right 7 ], κ or α suggested 9 ], γ or τ probable 10 ], the foot of an upright thickened at the bottom 11 The top of a loop

Fr. 7 3 ], on a single fibre, level with the tops of the letters a cross-stroke followed by a dot against the left-hand side of ρ After c the left-hand side of a small circle on the line 4 ], a dot on the line and at an interval a tail curving from left to right off the line; both might be part of one μ .[, the base of a small loop or hook 5 ], the middle of a stroke slanting up from left to right .[, the foot of an upright 6 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters .[, the base of a small loop or hook on the line followed by the extreme tip of a stroke descending below the line 7 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters and another, on the line, to the left of it, ν possible 8 The traces before ω are mostly preserved on a single fibre; λακωρ[ would suit but other ways of interpreting them are open 9 ], a stroke rising to right with indications of a stroke descending to right from its top 10 ], possibly ]α[ 11 ], the loop of ρ, as formed when ligatured with a preceding α or ε, or β suggested 12 ], an angular loop open to left; perhaps the top of ι ligatured to a preceding ε 13 Some ink over ]ω not accounted for 14 ], the left-hand side of a round letter 15 Over φηρ washed out letters? 16 I cannot interpret the ink between ει and ν; ω perhaps possible though anomalous or part of it may be combined with ι to make ρ, but the remainder suggests no letter 17 ], apparently the upper right-hand part of ε not c 21 ], the curved tail of a stroke descending from left . Between ν and α the start of a stroke rising to right .[, the upper part of a loop

Fr. 6 and 7. I see nothing which shows that these two fragments also contain commentary on the 'Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος. If the quotations from the *Odyssey* (fr. 7, 12 and 15) were to be taken to imply that a play relating to Odysseus was in question, Epicharmus wrote at least one other, 'Ὀ. ναυαγός. But it is not possible to say what these quotations were intended to illustrate and I see nothing in the lemmata which would lead one to suppose that Odysseus was concerned at all. It should be remarked that the lemmata in fr. 7 appear to be iambic trimeters, not, like those in fr. 1, trochaic tetrameters.

Fr. 7 4 I mention, though I suppose it unlikely to be relevant, that the Cyclops is called Ἄιδου μάγειρος in Eur. *Cycl.* 397.

6 I should guess that some part of μαίνεσθαι is to be recognized. If ἀκρωσ goes with it, it presumably means 'completely' not 'slightly'.

9 See on l. 16.

12 *Od.* xviii 74, of the disguised Odysseus.

15 *Od.* xix 446, of the boar which gave Odysseus his scar.

16 The comment implies that κύκοις must be supplemented somewhere after παίζει. τοὺς κυ[, which might be κυκ[, in l. 9, combined with the mention of κύκοις here, suggests the possibility that κυκοφάντης (or a derivative) was referred to in the text. I cannot estimate the likelihood of this for Epicharmus.

## 2430. CHORAL LYRIC IN THE DORIC DIALECT (? SIMONIDES)

The fragments assembled under this head are a selection from a larger number, among which the remnants of at least five unrelated texts may be distinguished and more may remain unrecognized. Though they appear to be the work of a single copyist, there are wide variations, sometimes more easily perceived than defined, in the general appearance of the script and measurable differences in the size of the letters and the spacing of the lines. Apart, therefore, from the possibility that, in dealing with those fragments of which the affiliation is not established by internal evidence, I may sometimes have included what is not and excluded what is the choral lyric with which I am concerned, there is the further possibility to be envisaged that not all the fragments indubitably containing choral lyric are parts of one and the same corpus. Generalizations about the collection must be read with these reservations in mind.

There are reasonable grounds for assuming that representatives of two out of the various kinds of choral composition classified by ancient scholars may be safely identified. There may well be more, to the identification of which I have observed no clue, but the ascription of fr. 92 to an epinician and of fr. 35, on the strength of the resemblance of the title to that of Pindar's *Paeans* (and *Prosodia*?), to paeans (or prosodia) will hardly be disputed.<sup>1</sup> In what direction should we look for the author of such compositions? The two who have been most often found in the papyri are Pindar and Bacchylides. We do not possess a single category of their poems in its entirety (even Pindar's *Epinicians* are defective at the end of the *Isthmians*), but there is, published or unpublished, a considerable bulk of material, though very unevenly distributed, from all parts of their writings, and it must be judged improbable that as much new as is printed below could be searched without there being discoverable a single coincidence with the known, if either Pindar or Bacchylides was the answer to the question. The next most natural name to put forward is Simonides, of equal fame in antiquity though apparently not so widely read in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> I have stated the

<sup>1</sup> Some further indications of the presence of epinicians may perhaps be seen in: fr. 1 ii 6 Πίκας; fr. 4 ii 2 seqq. ἐρικτύπ[ου . . . κικασε[ . . . εὐδέλελο[ν . . . ; fr. 53, 8 Ὀλυμπία?; fr. 79, 10 seq. ἀρέσθαι κῶδος, εὐωνύμου| Νίκας; fr. 85 ]ιοδρο[μ-]; fr. 92, 3 σταδίων τελέσσαις; fr. 96, 3 σταδίων τεnika[; fr. 99, 2 σταδίων γναμ[πρ-; fr. 131, 4 ἐπ' Ἀλφειῶν, 6 Ὀλυμπία? Of paeans in: fr. 55, 2 seq ἐη[ι- | ]ερε Δαλίων θυγατ[; fr. 61, 3 παιάν?; fr. 78 i 4 παίων 10 ἡγή.

<sup>2</sup> It has been proposed to recognize Simonides in PSI 1181 (see J. A. Davison, *C.R.* xlviii 205 seqq.) and in P. Strasb. *Inv. gr.* 1406-9 (see B. Snell, *Hermes Einzelsch.* v 98 seqq.). Of the first I will say no more than that it would take very strong evidence to persuade me that the style is Simonidean, of the second, that what is offered as proof that this text contains epinicians (which since they are neither Pindaric nor Bacchylidean must be Simonidean), seems to me to rest on a misconception in regard to 1407 col. ii 17-18. Since l. 18 σταδία[ is alined with the text it cannot be the second line of the title, which is indented, l. 17 τιμο[. Besides, as I believe can be shown, in MSS. of Simonides we are to expect that the indication of the event will precede the name of the victor.

case for recognizing an ancient quotation from him in fr. 79, but alteration is involved and I have found no other corroboration of this attribution. Even if it is correct, disappointingly little is added to our knowledge of his work, since not a single piece has been able to be reconstituted wide enough to display the whole of a verse and hardly anything specific can be learnt about either the style or the metre.

The hand is an excellent specimen of a not uncommon type of rounded uncial to be compared with, e.g., 1233. I am now disposed to believe that the dating I have elsewhere suggested may require modification in that the latter part of the first century is not to be ruled out.

At least two pens, of which one may be that of the writer of the text, appear to be distinguishable in the lection signs; at least four in the marginal additions, which I take to be of the second century.

Fr. 1

Col. i . . . . .	Col. ii . . . . .
. . αιτ[	]εμνωνπ[
]ακαῖ	]ευφρονακωμ[
]ευαρωγαλ. χειρων	τοδεσονθαητρο[
]ευαρῶντεπεφευγ <sup>ο</sup>	ξ ανθεων· [
] ῥηγ	οικη εν' αγτιγ
5 ]	κῆντομιξοβοα[ 5
] ]	χῆντεπις[. ]ci.[
] ]	] . . . ]κατα[

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 ] . . . of the first letter only traces on the under layer, of the second the right-hand part of the cross-bar and part of the stem of γ or τ. Of τ[ only the left-hand tip of the cross-stroke; for ετ I cannot rule out γ. 3 marg. In the first ευαρ. the υ seems to have been omitted and subsequently inserted by the same writer. Between λ and χ apparently λ.

Col. ii 6 ], a cross-stroke as of γ, ξ or the like. 7 The first letter a large θ or ο.

Fr. 1 Col. i 3 marg. I take ll. 2 seq. of this note to assert that 'εὐαρῶν τε πεφευγῶ( ) was the reading (of the exemplar)' and to imply that these words stood in the text lost on the left. εὐαρῶν in l. 1 is naturally understood as εὐαρῶν divested of its dialectal characteristic, but what follows I have not succeeded in making out. The obvious choices seem to be either a word giving the meaning of εὐαρῶν or a word (noun) which it qualifies. χειρῶν leaves three letters unaccounted for.

εὐαρῶν is perhaps to be compared with χαλκοῶραν, -ᾶν Pind. *Isthm.* v 41, iii/iv 81, χειραρῶν *Pyth.* v 35, φρενοῶραις Bacchyl. xvii 118. Hesychius εὐάρης· εὐοπτος appears to require correction and to have no relevance.<sup>1</sup>

For the perfect of φεύγω with a simple genitive (if that is the construction implied here) cf. *Od.* i 18, Soph. *Philoct.* 1044.

Col. ii 2 κῶρον one possibility.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps I should say that I have considered the possibilities that ευαρ- represents ευηρ-, or that it represents ευερ- (as in *ἰαρός*, *κταρός*), or that -ῶν is an accusative. Apart from other difficulties none is consistent with the hypothesis that ευαρωων is the non-dialectal equivalent of ευαρῶν.

4 The marginal note apparently refers to the coronis, which 'was not in my exemplar'. The writer is different from the writer of the note in col. i.

5 *μφοβόας* of the dithyramb Aesch. fr. 355.

5 seq. Perhaps πτωχῶν τε Πιδ[α]ς. τὸ Πιδας . . . συσταλέων . . . οὕτω δὲ οἱ περὶ Πίνδαρον καὶ Σιμωνίδην (fr. 247). Bacchylides also shortens the ι, v 182.

Fr. 2	Fr. 3
. . . . .	. . . . .
] . . [	] κυφ[
α	. . . . .
] φηκ[	
] . ητο[	
. . . . .	

Fr. 2 1 The extreme lower end of an upright followed by a nearly horizontal stroke just off the base line 3 ], the tip of an upright

Fr. 4	
Col. i . . . . .	Col. ii . . . . .
. . . . .	] μακαρ[
. . . . .	] ερικτυπ[
] αρ	] νικασε [
] ]	] ευδιελο[
] . [ ]	] συντεα[ 5
] ]	] πόιαιέ[
] ]	] συνενδ[
] ]	] ἄεισαν·ι[
] ]	] χαλ[
] ]	] παι[ 10
] ]	] παρ[
] ]	] δο[
] ]	] . [

Fr. 4 Col. i 1 αρ (above which there is a spot of ink which may represent a letter in the preceding line) is written much smaller than the rest though in the same hand. 3 The lower part of an upright with a spot of ink to its right, perhaps two letters.

Col. ii 1 The surface is blank after ρ but this appears to be due to damage. The same remark applies to the space after ε, l. 3. The high dot after ρ may be part of an interlinear letter or sign. It seems too high for a stop. 7 ], a trace suiting the extreme lower end of the loop of α. 10 ], a trace off the line. 12 ], the foot of an upright. 13 Apparently part of an accent not a letter.

Fr. 4 Col. ii 2 seqq. One may suspect something of the same kind as Simon. fr. 13, 2 seq., Pind.

*Ol. i 110 seq.* If so, an epinician is indicated, perhaps even, since ἐπίκτητος is recorded as an epithet only of Poseidon (Hes. *Θεογ.* 456, 930), an Isthmian.

5 -αιν τεα[υ or [ιc?

Fr. 5

<p>(a)</p> <p>]μαιο[          ]οδον[          ]ων·κ[...a.[          ]μοιοκοραι [          5 ]γαιονμεν [          ]δονφαίνα [          ]·νῦν[ ]</p>	<p>(b)</p> <p>]μεμ[          ]εχα[          ]λάο[          ]·ανθ[</p>
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**Fr. 5** (a), (b) certainly stood at the relative levels shown and, I am fairly confident, contained ends and beginnings of verses in consecutive columns

(a) 1 Between α and ι a dot, presumably representing an accent, whether acute or circumflex not determinable 2 [, the start of a stroke ascending to right 3 [, on the line the foot of an upright and the end of a stroke descending from left; perhaps two letters 6 Of ι only the extreme top 7 ], the top of an upright

(b) 3 [, an upright, perhaps slightly convex

Fr. 6

<p>(a)</p> <p>]ταντε[          ]τεεεεθ[          ]·οοιτ[          ]·θαων[          5 ]·ολβου[          ]·[ ]τοι[          ]ταυ[          ]ρηο[          ]ε[</p>	<p>(b)</p> <p>]·[          ]υγοι[          ]·εδιδ[          ]·δαε[</p>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Fr. 6** The cross-fibres indicate that (b) stood on the right of (a) at the level shown and a considerable though not exactly determinable interval

(a) 1 [, perhaps the top and bottom of the left-hand part of μ 3 [, the foot of an upright 4 ], two dots, one above the other 6 ], a stroke ascending left to right followed by what would be taken for the top hook of a coronis, if a coronis would not apparently be

out of place in this position [, an upright curving slightly to right as it descends; c or the like not ruled out

(b) 2 [, a sinuous upright; ε one possibility 4 ], the right-hand edge of an upright, o not ruled out After c faint traces of a stroke at mid-letter sloping left to right

Fr. 7

]·[  
 ]·δία[  
 ]·μεε[  
 ]·παν[  
 5 ]·γλάν[  
 ]·οιδη[  
 ]·χρυσο[

Fr. 8

]·φ[  
 ]·ιερα[·[  
 ]·μάντ[  
 ]·θυωδε[  
 5 ]·φυγοντ[

**Fr. 7** 1 The lower part of θ or ο 2 [, an upright 3 ], the left-hand side of ο, ω, or perhaps c 4 [, a dot level with the tops of the letters, suitable to τ

**Fr. 7** The accentuation suggests the possibility of the proper name Γλαυκος. There is reason to suppose that Simonides wrote a poem in honour of the famous boxer of that name from Carystus. See Lucian *Imag.* 19 (Simon. fr. 8, anonymous), Quintil. xi 2, 14. But alternative possibilities can easily be thought of.

Fr. 9

	Col. i	Col. ii
		]·...ε[
		] ζευετο[
		] πέ·δεα[
		]·νοε·δε·φ[
5		] φοιβοεινε[
		]·αγιωντεβωμ[
		]·κ[
		]·λετιν ]·νε[ ] ]·αισωι
		]·με[
		]·γωναχα[
10		]·τασα[

**Fr. 9** Col. ii 1 [, the upper part of an upright 2 [, a dot level with the tops of the letters

3 After  $\epsilon$  the foot of an upright descending slightly below the line of  $\delta$  or possibly  $\phi$  4 After  $\epsilon$  a dot on the line;  $\lambda$  a possibility of  $\omega$  seems likeliest, but anomalous 5 .[, the lower part of a convex upright traces compatible with the top left-hand angle of  $\nu$  .[, the left-hand angle of  $\delta$  or possibly  $\phi$  .[, the left-hand stroke of  $\omega$  seems likeliest, but anomalous 5 .[, the lower part of a convex upright traces compatible with the top left-hand angle of  $\nu$  10 .[,

## Fr. 10

.  
 .  
 .]φιλ[α]  
 .]ταδεκ[  
 .]χθαε[  
 .]ξ[α]  
 5 .]τ[α]  
 .]φ[ι]

Fr. 10 3 For  $\epsilon$ ,  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  cannot be ruled out, though either would be cramped

## Fr. 11

(a) .  
 .]μαρ[  
 .]φιδε[  
 (b) .  
 .]νπαρ[  
 .]α[

Fr. 11 (a), (b) The interval between these cannot be determined

(b) 1 .[, a trace above the level of the tops of the letters

## Fr. 12

.  
 .]αἰ...[  
 .]αἰδαλα[  
 .]..τ[

Fr. 12 1 ...[, the lower part of an upright slightly convex stroke probably  $\epsilon$ , followed by the foot, slightly hooked to right, of an upright descending below the line and a trace suggesting the start of a stroke ascending to right 2 .[, a short stroke ascending left to right near the bottom of the loop of  $\alpha$ , presumably  $\delta$  3 .[, the foot, hooked to right, of an upright descending below the line 3 .[, a trace level with the tops of the letters followed by the upper right-hand arc of a circle .[, the upper end of a stroke descending to right from the cross-stroke of  $\tau$ ;  $\sigma\rho\nu$  would suit, but there are plenty of alternatives

## Fr. 13

(a) .  
 .]...[  
 .]κῆ[  
 .]μ[ο]  
 .]τ[  
 .  
 .  
 (b) .  
 .]μ[  
 .]σ[  
 .]μ[  
 .]ε[  
 .]ε[  
 .]ε[

Fr. 13 The levels of (a), (b) are fixed relatively to one another by cross-fibres. See also on fr. 8

(a) 1 The extreme lower tip of an upright descending below the line, the foot of an upright on the line, the lower left-hand part of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\varsigma$ ,  $\omicron$ , or  $\omega$  3 .[, the upper end of a stroke starting below the general level of the tops of the letters and descending to right; perhaps  $\psi$

(b) The marginal notes are in different hands; the upper might be from the same pen as the text

Fr. 13 (b) The asterisk, to mark the end of a piece, is sometimes written in, sometimes, as here, in the left-hand margin of, the column. Contrast 1792 fr. 47 (Pind. *Pae.*) with B.M. 733 col. 12 (Bacchyl. *Epinic.*).

## Fr. 14

.  
 .]ολ[  
 .  
 .

## Fr. 16

.  
 .] [ [   
 .]λμ[  
 .  
 .

## Fr. 15

.  
 .] [ ]τ[ε[  
 .] λονα[  
 .]εα[  
 .  
 .

## Fr. 17

.  
 .]ε.ω[  
 .  
 .

Fr. 17 Between  $\epsilon$  and  $\omega$  the lower part of an upright

Fr. 15 .[, tails of two uprights, the first descending slightly below the line, the second into the top of the next line 3 .[, two dots close together above the general level,  $\theta$  possible .[, perhaps the upper left-hand side of  $\gamma$

## Fr. 19

.  
 .]μ[ε[  
 .]τρο[.] [   
 .]ω[σμελε[  
 .]επ[.] [ ] [   
 .  
 .

Fr. 19 1 .[, an upright

## Fr. 18

.  
 .] [   
 .]τ[  
 .]ω[σ[τεφαν[  
 .]ο[σ[  
 5 .]α[δευξ[αο[  
 .  
 .

## Fr. 21

.  
 .]μ[ονφ[  
 .]δεπαμ[  
 .].....[  
 .  
 .

Fr. 21 3 Tops of letters of which the last two are perhaps  $\omicron\lambda$ ,  $\theta\lambda$  or the like

## Fr. 20

.  
 .]μ[ε[  
 .]δ[  
 .  
 .

## Fr. 22

] [  
 ]αισιμο[  
 ]ομοτιμον[  
 ]ε[<sup>3</sup>]μοικων[  
 ]ηνειοδ[  
 ]<sup>3</sup>

5

Fr. 22 3 ], ε rather than τ, though the presumed top of ε is more horizontal than in the other exx. ν cancelled by both a stroke through it and dots above and below, of which that below is lost

Fr. 22 2 όμότιμον v.l. ]ότιμον?  
4 Η]ηνειοδ.

## Fr. 23

]εμ.[  
 ]ξαπολλο[  
 ]μαιτόν[  
 ]ν,τεπη].[

Fr. 23 4 ], an upright

## Fr. 24

]μα.[.]c [  
 ]ιαφειε[  
 ]οτι [  
 ]λε [  
 ]..[.] [  
 5

Fr. 24 1 ], the lower part of an upright  
3 ], the foot of an upright hooked to right

## Fr. 25

Col. i                      Col. ii  
 ]οφι ε  
 ]θαι φ  
 ]ο μ  
 ]λλωνι θ  
 ]καλλι  
 ]πληγην[

Fr. 25 Col. ii 1 ], the lower half of ε or c  
2 Or λ?

Fr. 25 For the asterisk as here cf. fr. 13 (b). of α

## Fr. 26

]φ.[  
 ]μαίει[  
 ]ν αγν[  
 ]και [

Fr. 26 1 ], perhaps the bottom of the loop

## Fr. 27

]...[  
 ]ονανδρω[  
 ]ε.μο[

Fr. 27 1 An upright followed, at an interval greater than the normal space between letters but not sufficient for a whole letter, by another upright with a short stroke rising from left to right through its top and a dot vertically below it  
3 On either side of ε the top of a circle

## Fr. 28

]οι.[  
 ]εξοδ.[  
 ]..ε'ρ.[

Fr. 28 1 ], the surface is rubbed and all that remains is a short vertical stroke not quite level with the top of the letters and a faint dot below and slightly to left of it ], the lower left-hand arc of a circle 2 ], the tip of an upright 3 ], a dot at the level of the top of the letters followed by what appear to be the middles of two converging lines, e.g. ο Of ε only the top half, ε could not be ruled out ], the upper left-hand arc of a circle

## Fr. 29

]...[  
 ]ειν  
 ]ναπτ[  
 ]..κρ[  
 ]..κε[  
 5 ]λ.νξ[

Fr. 29 3 ], a dot on the line followed by the foot of ε or c. A completely obliterated ε could have stood between this and κ 4 ], the lower parts of uprights, perhaps only one letter 5 For λ perhaps δ Of the next letter there are traces compatible with the top and left-hand side of ε or the like

## Fr. 30

]πεδ[  
 ]...ν.[  
 ]..[

Fr. 30 2 ], the tail of λ or μ probable ], a dot against the upright of ν, probably the left-hand end of the cross-stroke of τ or ψ 3 A dot level with the tops of the letters followed by the left-hand apex of μ or the top of θ

## Fr. 31

]...ε.[  
 ]αρτεμ[

Fr. 31 The size of α suggests that these may be beginnings of lines  
1 Of the first letter a horizontal stroke on the line, suggesting ζ; this is followed by what I can interpret only as α but it is not normally made. Perhaps these two letters should be taken as δε  
Of the third letter the lower part of an upright descending below the line, e.g. ρ ], the foot of an upright

## Fr. 32

].τρατοςκαιαγα.[  
].αρεθηκανουνο.[  
].ταωταενοπη[  
].καθοπλιζομενων[

].ντοκαρωναλκιμων.[

].φι[[βο]]εθρακαλονεστασαν[

].λεμιωναςηδηγαραιδοι[

].αρυνον[.].νεσαυζε

5 ].λυσαθαν[.].ακηκε

].θθμοιας[.].φς..

].ωιες[  
].σειοιο[  
].χ.].

Fr. 33 Blank upper margin sufficient for 5 ll., then:

## Fr. 34

].ν [

Fr. 34 ], the upper right-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 32 Upper margin. 1 ], the left-hand side of a circle right at the foot 3 ], the upper part of a high upright an upright a little above the centre, perhaps ν, or two letters of which the second would be ι  
Text. 1 ], an angle open to right, apparently not α, δ, φ suggesting β but not excluding it ], an upright or slightly convex stroke, e.g. the left-hand side of ο, ω ], part of an accent or interlinear letter A stop may have been intended above and to right of the first c 6 ], the left-hand angle of π or γ c might be ο; it is followed by the tips of two strokes a little above the general level 7 marg. c is larger and thicker and has been written on another letter; it is followed by a short upright curving to right at its foot, e.g. ο χ is preceded by a loop open to left, e.g. a high ρ, and followed by what might be the top of α and the upper left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 32 The general appearance is very like that of fr. 35 (b) and the two were probably not far apart in the roll.

Upper margin. I see no certain reference to the text and the relevant part may have stood below what is preserved. In view of the occurrence of ενοπη here and ενοπών in fr. 35 (b) 9 it may be well to state that fr. 32 and 35 (b) cannot be ascribed to the same column.

1 ]τρατος και αγα. ] perhaps proper names. Αγαθ[ could be read.

3 The proximity of ατα and ενοπη makes it worth while to recall the fact (though I do not think it can be relevant) that ενοπαις is quoted from Sophocles in the meaning 'earrings' από τοῦ ταῖς τῶν ὠτων ὀπαις κείσθαι (Et. Mag. in ν., Hesych. in ἐνώπαις).

Text. 2 ἀμφι βέεθρα, the name of a river having presumably preceded. In connexion with Carians one would think of the Maeandrus, but see on l. 4.

3 αἰδοῖαι v.l. αἰδοῖαι apparently implied.

4 (ε)βάρυνον hardly avoidable, ὠ[δῆ]νεε acceptable, though rather cramped. 'She cried out, for now the august pangs were heavy on her' might be said of a goddess, and in a paean, as this appears to be (see on fr. 35), would be likely to refer to Leto. Apollo was born in Delos ὑπ' Ἴνωποῖο βέεθροις according to h. Hom. iii 18; other rivers associated with his birth are the Κέγγριος near Ephesus (at one time inhabited by Carians and Leleges), Strabo 639, and the Lycian Xanthus, Ant. Lib. Metam. xxxv. But I cannot pretend to follow the connexion of thought (particularly that between ll. 1-3 and ll. 3-5) and other possibilities will readily occur to the reader.

5 ἀθαν[ατ]αc seems likely but I do not see the appropriateness of any of the not very numerous list of feminines in -λυς. Though the λ is damaged, it is not prima facie possible to make δ of the remaining ink, but nevertheless, if I am not far astray in what I propose for l. 4, νη]δύος is what is likely to have been intended.

ἦκε: from ἦκω or from ἴημι? If the first, perhaps of the child not the mother, and this alternative must also be kept in mind in regard to the subject of ἀυσε.

6 κλ]ῶθι looks a better guess than α]ῶθι in view of the following μοι.

## Fr. 35

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
	].τροφ[	].αρηθος[.].ποζα[	].τοιδιατο[	].ερ[	].φ[	].α.ερ[
	].πε[	].δοικαπολλον[	].ονητου[	].α[	].ηειδηλον[	].φόνω[
		].οι'αθανας [	].εστουτω[			
		].θαδεευμενείφρεν[	(c)			
5		].άτιονουπάρειτίαρ[	].ωνχαριν[			
		].ονονπομίμνομε[	(f)			
		].ανορέδρομοναρτεμιν[				]......ν
		].θενικαν'καισεαναξεκαβ[				].αν [
		].ετρίέμνοιενοπαναγανοίςμ[				].εκα [
10		].εφάμοναποφρενομορροθο[				].τωναθηβαιωνπαρ[
		]. [				]. [
		].ανδριοις ειςπυθω [				
		].μοιά[.].σιονκελαδείζαμφι[				

Fr. 35 The horizontal positions of (a), (b), (d), (e) appear to be fixed by the cross-fibres; about their vertical positions I can make no statement except that the writing is in a different position relatively to the fibres in (d) from what it is in (a), (b), so that (d) must be presumed to come from a different column. The level of (c) relatively to (b) may be that shown, but I am not sure about the identification of the cross-fibres. (f) I should judge to come from the same neighbourhood as the others but I can form no settled opinion about a more precise location, though I cannot dismiss the possibility that it stood abreast of (b) ll. 4-7 in the preceding column

(a) 2 ], the upper tip of a stroke descending to right at an interval which suggests δ, but λ, ν, and other letters possible

(b) 1 Of ]α only the tip of the tail 2 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters, too low for a mark of length 3 i.e. ε, but the lower dot has gone with the surface 4 ρ made out of c by the original hand ], the foot of an upright hooked to right; not suggested 5 ], a slightly convex upright with a thickened foot 9 ], a dot on the line 13 ], an upright

(d) 1 ], traces suggesting a stroke descending from left 2 ], an upright with a thickened top, e.g. ν

(f) 1 Below the trace of the first letter there is a dot which apparently indicates cancellation; of the next two letters there are remains on the line which suggest α followed by ε or c; the following traces may be combined in different ways, the ending was perhaps εον

**Fr. 35** The title at (b) 12 is of the form found in Pindar papyri prefixed to paeans and the address to Apollo in ll. 2, 8 are congruous with the same class of composition. We may therefore adopt for the time being the hypothesis that what we have in fr. 35 are parts of paeans. I should judge from the similarity of its appearance that fr. 32 stood not far away in the roll and consequently is likewise part of a paean.

(b) 1 Π[ἀρνηθας [ἀ]πὸ or [ῥ]πὸ ζα[θέας is a reasonable guess and the mention of Parnes together with that of Athena in l. 3 suggests the possibility that this was a piece written for the Athenians. They are named in (f) 4 schol. and Delos in (e) schol. 4 (which may very well have related to (b) 1 and/or the verses about it), but I can say no more for the conjecture that this may be the end of a paean Ἀθηναίους εἰς Δῆλον than that it is a possibility to be borne in mind.

Since the collocation ζαθέας τροφῶν, apparently as a qualification of a mountain, actually occurs in a Paean of Pindar's (ii 61 seqq., leg. πέραν Ἀ[θῶν]), it is to be remarked that there is no likelihood that τροφ[ (a) 1] can be located so as to follow ζα[. Fibres wander but the width of the column deduced from (b) 9 seq. is insufficient to allow of their having risen from between (a) 1-2 to between (b) 1-2.

3 The *scriptio plena*, -οιο, has been corrected out here as at fr. 55, 6. In other places it has been left, as in the next line and at fr. 79, 4, fr. 120 (b) 5.

4 Pindar's usage in regard to the digamma of ἀνδάνειν is to allow it to preclude hiatus (*Pyth.* vi 51, *Isthm.* iv 15, viii 18, *Pyth.* i 29) but not to make position (*Ol.* vii 17, *Pyth.* ii 96). If ἀδε is to be recognized here, it is fairly certain that there was an elision before it, [θ]. This may be an argument for preferring θάδε, e.g. ἐ[θ]άδε.

εὐμενεὶ φρενὶ would naturally occur to the mind (εὐμενεὶ νόμῳ of divinities, *Pind.* *Pyth.* viii 18, *Pae.* v 45), but ε is by no means what is suggested by the remains of the last letter.

5 I do not see the drift.

The prescribed accent of the compound is πάρειτι, at any rate in the Attic equivalent πάρεισι. The alternative εἶτι can only be accounted for by postulating a separate παρα, which will be in anastrophe, πάρ'. I see no great probability that this is preferable to the straightforward interpretation 'spring does not pass, come to an end', though this can evidently not have been made as a statement of fact without qualification. The dialectal 3rd person singular in -τι is not elsewhere exemplified from this verb. To obviate hiatus Pindar has εἶων at *Dith.* ii 19, to admit elision he has εἶτ' at fr. 137 and similarly Simonides at fr. 78 (ex corr.), though apparently he elides the ε of φαρτί at fr. 5, 9.

6 Perhaps π[όνον] ὑπομίμνομεν. The poet, or the chorus, 'shoulder the (pleasing) burden' of singing the praises of Artemis and Apollo?

7 ἄρειδρομον: the same accentuation, instead of the regular paroxytone, at *Pind.* *Pae.* vii 6. Again in this MS. at fr. 37, 4.

8 παρ]θενικάν.

8 seq. Although ἐκηβελέτης is a variation on ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβόλος, ἐκατηβελέτης (all three attested from Homer onwards) hitherto recorded only once, in an Orphic fragment (297 Kern), I am inclined to instate ἐκαβ[ε]λέτα here. If this is right, the first letters of λέτα and ευφαμον mark the left-hand edge of the column and approximately establish a limit within which the written length of supplements of the beginnings of ll. 1-8 must fall. But I must admit that other readings besides λέτα are possible, for instance, μέγα.

9 ἰέμενοι for ἰέντες is, so far as I can discover, without parallel, but there seems no room for doubt that 'emitting' is what is intended. Other unique middles for actives turn up from time to time, e.g. ἀνοιξάμενοι *Pind.* *Pae.* viii 11.

10 ἀπὸ φρενός ἀμορρόθο[ν, 'with minds in unison'. Similarly ἐκ, as e.g. ἐξ εὐμενῶν στέρνων δέχεσθαι *Soph.* *OC* 486.

12 For a similar title similarly written as part of the text cf. *Pind.* *Pae.* vii (in *PSI* 147).

Another title below, fr. 120 (b) 3.

13 Probably ἀ[ῖ]σιον, but theoretically ἀ[ῖ]σιον (*Ibyc.* 12), presumably preceded by a negative, could not be ruled out, if the accent, instead of which the paroxytone is also found, can be accepted; or ἀ[ρ]σιον, known only from Hesychius' entry ἀρσιον· δίκαιον.

Fr. 36

δ[

ψ.[

**Fr. 36 2** The surface is damaged and what I have taken as a large υ may be ι. It is followed by an angle on the line which may represent ζ or ξ

Fr. 38

]ν.[

Fr. 39

].[

]οναμ[

]όντα[

Fr. 41

(a)

]τεμιδοςτεβαθν[

]οντετοξον [

]αξαποπασαλο[

]ενοικωιδιος.[

5 ]αματακο.[

].[

Fr. 37

]. . . . .[

].οικινάλε[

]νπροσδα[

].χαικορίδρομο[

5 ]θεν[ ] [

**Fr. 37 1** The bases of letters, of which the second might be κ or λ, the next to the last θ or ο 2 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top of ο 4 ], perhaps the lower right-hand arc of the loop of ρ, but rather high, and the right-hand arm of υ may be preferable

Fr. 40

].[

]αδειδενάπείρ.[

]μαπέφρικενμ[

]αίλυκ[

5 ]κει·εν[

**Fr. 40 2** Of ]α only the end of the tail Of ] only a trace of the left-hand stroke

**Fr. 41** The level of (b) is fixed relatively to (a) by the cross-fibres. I think it probable that nothing is missing in l. 4, in which case c. 3 letters are lost in l. 5

(a) 1 Of ψ[ only the end of the stem, ρ possible 5 ], a trace just below the level of the tops of the letters

(b) 1 ], a short stroke rising from the line to right, at first sight suggesting a mark of separation



- Fr. 41** Apparently consistent with the beginning of a piece.  
 1 seqq. If the two τε correspond, Ἀρ]τέμιδος τε might be expected to be followed by something like Φοίβει]όν τε. Apollo is probably to be recognized again in ἀν]αξ.  
 3 ἀπὸ πασσάλο]υ. I should guess that what comes 'off the peg' is the φόρμυξ, not the bow.  
 4 Possibly ἐν οἴκω Διδε ἀθάν]ατοι (in which case the sign before θ cannot be the comma of separation).  
 5 c]άματα are musical notes Pind. *Pyth.* i 3, but many other guesses could be made.  
 If αἰδ[ is rightly deciphered, κοῖ]ρα(ι)ς is a possibility which offers itself, but I cannot verify υ.

## Fr. 42

·  
 ]α [·  
 ]·ά [·  
 ]οντες[·  
 ·

**Fr. 42** 2 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke suiting γ or τ

## Fr. 43

·  
 ][[α]]... [·  
 ]τότε[·  
 ] [·  
 ·

**Fr. 43** 1 The lower parts of letters suggesting γειρ (or τειρ) or πτηρ

## Fr. 44

·  
 ]α·μα[·  
 ]ογε[·  
 ]·τενα[·  
 ]δ'υμε[·  
 5 ]·νικάν[·  
 ]θαλαα[·  
 ]·τονάν[·  
 ]·νάδει[·  
 ·

**Fr. 44** 1 After α a headless upright, ι probable but ρ, υ perhaps not ruled out 2 ], faint traces of an upright 3 ], the tail of α or λ 4 ], a slightly convex upright, e.g. μ 5 ], the tail of an upright descending below the line 6 ], the foot of an upright on the line 7 ], below the line the start of a stroke rising to right, e.g. χ 8 ], a trace of a dot in the middle position 9 ], a dot off the line, perhaps the tip of the tail of α

## Fr. 45

·  
 ]δωνιε[·  
 ]...υχα[·  
 ]ραννα[·  
 ]φ[...].ιπ[·  
 5 ]απερᾶνθ[·  
 ]πε[...]. [·  
 ·

**Fr. 45** 4 ], ι might perhaps represent only one letter, e.g. π 5 ], the thickened lower end of a stroke rising to right 6 If ]π is right, the cross-stroke has entirely disappeared, but though ]ι would more naturally be read, I do not know what could be made of the second stroke 7 After ε an ι might be accommodated in the gap before the next letter, which was perhaps ρ 8 ], the tops of a small loop and of an upright; possibly only one letter, e.g. μ

## Fr. 46

·  
 ].. [·  
 ]ανεμοιο[·  
 ]ε·ἀμφδ'.. [·  
 ·

**Fr. 46** 3 Between ε and α perhaps traces of the base of δ 4 ], the upper left-hand arc of a circle

## Fr. 47

·  
 ]μακα[·  
 ]δ'·εδαλ[·  
 ·

**Fr. 47** 1 ], traces of the upper part of an upright 2 Perhaps simply ]δ', but there is a horizontal stroke larger than the usual hook touching the top of ε, which this would leave unaccounted for

## Fr. 48

·  
 ].. [ ]α[·  
 ]ρηκκε[·  
 ]·οιαρ[·  
 ·

**Fr. 48** 1 ], a thickened horizontal stroke on the line, ζ or ξ rather than δ 2 ], the tip of an upright 3 ], the tip of an upright For ε perhaps γ For ρ[ possibly ε[

## Fr. 49

·  
 ]μο[·  
 ]η[·  
 ·

**Fr. 49** 1 ], the upper part of an upright 2 ], a dot level with the top of η; might be read as a stop

## Fr. 50

·  
 Blank  
 ]·τοίτωι[·  
 ]ηικεωι[·  
 Blank  
 ·

**Fr. 50** Not certainly this MS. If so, perhaps to be placed level with fr. 45, 2 1 ], perhaps the bottom of the loop of α 2 ], the start of κ or of ω possible

## Fr. 51

·  
 ]·όβρομ[·  
 ]·αί·θραις[·  
 [· ]· [·  
 ·

**Fr. 51** 1 ], the right-hand edge of an upright 2 ], perhaps traces of an upright



## Fr. 52

]ντρ[ ] .[  
 ]κε[ ] .[ ]δε[  
 ]εοσ̄ακα[ ] .[  
 ]ἰαντιχρε[  
 5 ]δροσοειν[  
 ] .̄αγετανγ[  
 ]έξατογειτ[  
 ]ονγαλ[ ] .[

**Fr. 52** 1 ] .[, the tip of a stroke well below the line 2 Between ε and [ ] perhaps the lower parts of λ 3 ] .[, three dots on a single fibre, suiting μ 6 Above ] .a the mark of length and accent may not account for all the traces 8 ] .[, what I have taken for the upper end of an acute may be part of an interlinear letter

**Fr. 52** 2 κελ[α]δε[ not particularly suggested but perhaps not ruled out.  
 3 ]εοσ̄ακαμ[ατ- possible.

6 Probably αγέταν, but not ἀρ]χα- or ]λα-, still less τρα]ρα-. The letter before αγ, if represented at all—and dirt makes it difficult to be certain—was most likely an upright, e.g. ξε]ν-, κν]ν-. I mention this because of the possibility that the next line, in which a natural conjecture is (ε)δ]έξατο γειτ[ων or -ονα, might suggest some such proposal.

## Fr. 53

Room for 4 ll.

5 ]να[  
 ]ξαμ[  
 ]ἰμυγρα[ ] .[  
 ]ετ̄αστ . μ . α .[  
 ] .ωρίω[ ] .τεξ .μκαπ[  
 10 ] .ων[ ] .φίς .τεβ̄νω[

**Fr. 53** Above l. 7 the surface is stripped. The horizontal fibres revealed belong to a piece of papyrus stuck on the back of the roll

7 seqq. The right-hand side has a rubbed patch in which the letters are either very faint or represented by dots 8 τολυμπιας possible but the traces may be combined in other ways ] .[, the left-hand arc of a circle 9 ] .[, the lower end of a stroke descending from left, δ possible, but no base line visible Perhaps ωντ with no letter missing Possibly ερι 10 Above the first ε a dot of ink Between ε and τ the lower part of a letter I cannot interpret; perhaps struck out

## Fr. 55

(a) .  
 ]τυχαιλυκιον[ ] .[  
 ]κακαλλιστοννιονιη[  
 ]ξατεδαλιωνθυγατ[  
**Fr. 54**  
 ]ιερ[  
 ]δα[  
 ] .ν .[  
 5 ]ντ'ενταϊδεγαρδικα[  
 ]μεπλάξιαλοιφαπα[ (b) ] .[  
 ]αρμόλημποτνια[ ] .[ ]ωπιδ[  
 ]αειδοντεςδαλβο[ ] .[ ] .[  
 ]αιε  
 ] .οιούπομενο[  
 10 ]εφερον[

**Fr. 54** Beginnings of lines, indicated by the size of the initial letters 3 ] .[, the top left-hand side of ε, ο, or the like ] .[, a slightly convex upright

**Fr. 55** I am fairly confident that the level of (b) relatively to (a) is as shown. There is no external clue to their interval

(a) 1 ] .[, traces of an upright or slightly convex stroke 7 ] .[, the lower part of an upright 8 ] .[, the top of a tall upright, e.g. φ 9 ] .[, a trace level with the tops of the letters

**Fr. 55** 1 seq. There may be an allusion to the birth of Apollo in Delos. If π]τυχαι is restored (which can be only nominative or vocative plural, not dative singular, since the singular of πτυχή is absent from authors of the best period, a remark which is relevant to fr. 40, 4 where the collocation of letters ]αλυκ[ again occurs), the reference is perhaps to Cynthus. Δύκιον ] .[ ]κα κάλλιστον υἱόν may be said of Leto, -ca being the end of a feminine participle.

2 ηη[ : I suppose, ἠή or some extension or derivative of it.

3 I should guess, an exhortation to the chorus (]ξατε, Δ. θύγατ]ρες, cf. Pind. *Pae.* vi 121 seq.) rather than a description of their action, but there are still other alternatives.

6 πλαξιάλοι' new; it might be an epithet of an oarsman or an oar, or of a wind, or (like ὀρειάλωι Bacchyl. xvi 19, also a ἀπασξ εἰρημένωι) of Poseidon.

Internal rough breathing written as at 2432 8.

7 ]αρ is likely to be εαρ or κέαρ, though there is a number of remoter possibilities. It may be worth saying that εαρ singular is only a grammarian's word.

πότνια[ ]ωπι almost certainly vocative. The traces admit γ]λανκ]ωπι but γ cannot be established and κ]αλυκ]ωπι or κ]υαν]ωπι is equally possible. So are, e.g., ] .[ εὐ-, χρυς]ωπι.

Though a dative ποτνίαι[ ]ωπι is theoretically acceptable, I doubt whether the dative of πότνια is ever found in fact.

8 αειδοντες v.l. -τας.

Fr. 56

πολλ[  
ποις  
οικικα[  
δονα  
ακων[

Fr. 56 1 [, ο or ω probable 3 interl.  
],, apparently the end of a stroke descending from left

Fr. 56 3 I presume ακων was written by mistake for αδονακων and the omission made good by writing δονα above the line and cancelling the now superfluous α in the line, this procedure fixing with precision where the insertion is to be made. But I cannot verify α before the superscribed δ.

Fr. 57

ροτωνκ[  
νβιαει[  
ογ[

Fr. 58

ιαμφι . . . ο.  
ηγ . . . χρο.  
χρο . . . παιδων  
μεβ[ . . . ο . . . κφ.  
να[ . . . τι . . . απφ.

Fr. 58 1 Above ] traces of an interlinear addition 2 interl. ηγ seems to be in a different hand; it may be a correction of the letter (or letters) below, e.g. λεγε into ληγε ]. ο, the traces are compatible with ]πτο 3 τι though apparently part of the text are written at a lower level

Fr. 59

θον[

Fr. 60

(a) . . . λακκίαγη[  
(b) . . . φφ[  
ε[  
ναυ τ[  
α[  
ωνμυχ[  
παρόσκητ[  
5 . . . μελλοντ[  
δθεν [

Fr. 60 The level of (b) is fixed relatively to (a) by cross-fibres. There is no external indication of their interval

(a) ]α one possibility . . . the left-hand lower part of a circle  
(b) 2 There is a dot above the line to left of ν 5 ],, a trace resembling a comma level with the tops of the letters 6 ],, the tip of an upright preceded by a trace compatible with the upper end of a stroke descending left to right; ],ι rather than ν suggested

Fr. 60 (a) θ]αλακκία γ(δρ).  
(b) 4 λ[παρόσκητ[τρο, -καπ[το, new.

Fr. 62

(a) . . . Fr. 61 (b) . . . Fr. 61\* (a) . . . (b) . . .  
]ουτανευθεναιχμ[ ]ουραν[ ]ετοχ[ ]πειφιλοι[ ] . . .  
]παιαν. [ ] [ ] ρωωνστρ[ ]άτενα[  
]δω[ . . . ]πόλλωνατ[ ]δου[ ]εμάντορ[ ]τεμιν[  
5 ] . . . ]ενέος[ 5 ]ων[ ] . . .  
]αξπο[ ] . . .  
]ωπο[ ] . . .

Fr. 61 The relative levels of (a), (b) are established by the cross-fibres and judging by the appearance of the backs I think there is not much doubt that (b) stood on the right of (a). There is nothing to show their interval

1 ],, the foot of a stroke, hooked to right, descending below the line 5 Below ω a trace of interlinear ink, perhaps the upper end of an accent ],, apparently the left-hand end of a cross-stroke with ink below 6 ],, an upright, ν possible

Fr. 62 The level of (b) is fixed relatively to (a) by cross-fibres but since the writing is at a different level it cannot be presumed to come from the same column and I see nothing to show whether it should be placed before or after

(a) ι ε[ , perhaps ν might be read 6 ],, a small piece of the upper right-hand arc of a circle. Well above the line to right of this letter is a trace which may represent an accent

Fr. 61 2 οστ' άνευθεν αίχμ[άκ. In view of Pind. Pyth. ix I may as well remark that ]ρ could be taken as β or θ, but κ cannot be read.

4 -δω[ν Α]πόλλωνα would be adequate to the space.

Fr. 62 (a) 2 η-ρώων στρ[ατ-.

3 καμάντορ[ : καμάντορι at the beginning of a line 'Pind.' Paes. xiii (a) 24.

Fr. 63

μοιρ[

Fr. 65

]αα[

Fr. 65 2 ],, the middle of a stroke rising to right

Fr. 64

ν[

Fr. 64 ],, the upper part of an upright perhaps slightly convex

Fr. 66

]μ[  
]καιτ[

Fr. 67

] [  
]π[

Fr. 69

]νμελ[  
]ωνακ[

Fr. 69 1 Or ]η

Fr. 71

].ον [  
]τηται[  
]εταικ [  
]ώι[ ]

Fr. 72

].ιγονόμε...[  
]ἠμένασθ'προ.[  
]επιφερεται.[  
].ειονδ'τοπροτε[

Fr. 75

] ..[  
] θασκ[  
] .[

Fr. 68

] [  
] ο[

Fr. 70

]ανεδαλον[  
]πονται [

Fr. 73

(a) . . . . . ]ξ[.].[  
]ωρεπιγ.[  
(b) . . . . . ] ..]ωᾶπειρω[  
] πορον...[βᾶι.[  
] νπειθομενά[  
]φρε[  
(c) . . . . . ] .[ .[  
] θν.ιάων λ[  
] ολβιωτάτο[  
] ν[.]εσιπατρ.[  
5 ] .[.]ν[.]ν.[  
] κ.[ ]υν.[

Fr. 74

]δροιοτε[

Fr. 70-74 It appears probable that all these fragments come from the same region. The back fibres show that fr. 73 (b) stood vertically above (c) and I believe that no line is lost between them but that the trace at the beginning of (c) 1 is the end of the tail of φ in (b) 4. The others I cannot locate precisely but I am fairly confident that (a) stood above the right-hand side of (b) and think it likely

that fr. 70-72 come from the preceding column. Since the text hand does not appear in fr. 72 there is no certainty that it is to be assigned to this MS.

Fr. 70 2 Of ]πρ only the cross-stroke and the top of a circle

Fr. 71 1 ], the lower end of a stroke descending from left

Fr. 72 1 ]ψι possible, but v. comm. 2 After θ the tail of a suspended letter. Though the accent on ε is puzzling θ cannot be ο .[, the left-hand side of a circle, c suggested 3 .[, an upright with ink to right of its top 4 ], a cross-stroke and traces of ink descending from its left-hand end

Fr. 73 (a) 1 ].[, the middle of an upright or slightly convex stroke with a trace at some interval to right of its top; perhaps only one letter represented 2 For ν perhaps μ possible .[, the lower part of an upright hooked to right descending below the line, ρ would suit

(b) 1 ], a cross-stroke about level with the tops of the letters with traces of an upright through its left-hand end; perhaps c, as π would be rather close to ι 2 After ν the extreme lower end of an upright descending below the line followed by the upper and lower parts of an upright swinging slightly to left as it descends but its foot hooked to right, prima facie ι .[, a trace level with the tops of the letters, perhaps to be combined with ι to give ν

(c) 1 ], the extreme lower end of an upright descending below the line, see above 2 After ν a trace opposite its middle and another to the left of the top of ι 4 ], the left-hand arc of ο probable 5 ], probably the left-hand parts and traces of the second apex of μ but possibly λ.[ should be written After ν the upper part of an upright, prima facie ι or ω Before ν the foot of ε or c, after it traces compatible with the tops of the left- and right-hand strokes of ω but possibly parts of two letters 6 After κ the start of a stroke ascending to right After ν the start of a stroke opposite its middle ascending to right

Fr. 75 1 The lower part of ε or c followed by a dot on the line 3 A small loop above the general level

Fr. 72 schol. 1 If δ]ψιγονο( ), can have no relation to fr. 92, 6, where the same word recurs. But for ]ψι it is possible to read a suspended η, ]η( )γονο( ), and there are no doubt other possibilities as well.

μεμνα[ could be reconciled with the traces but cannot be verified.

2 μέμνασθ. is shown by the accent and dialectal α to be a lemma but I cannot recognize what part of the verb is meant. μέμνασθ(ε) followed by a suspended η does not strike me as at all a likely interpretation.

3 ἐπιφέρεται 'there follows in the text'.

4 No doubt βέλ]τειον δὲ τὸ πρότερον, 'the first (view, or the like) is to be preferred'.

Fr. 73 (b) 1 The antisigma against this line must be supposed to stand in some relation to that against the line added below (c) 5, but it cannot now be made out whether it denotes displacement or contradiction (which is said to have been its signification in texts of Homer) or is employed for some other purpose.

3 πειθόμενα[ι indicated.

(c) 2 θυσιδίων: the genitive plural in -άων instead of -ᾶν must be very rare, if indeed it occurs at all, in Pindar or Bacchylides. It is not certain that it occurs here, since the articulation -θυσιδίων is open, but it is at first sight the likeliest view.

Fr. 76

·  
·  
]οεῖε[  
]μερω[  
]..[

Fr. 77

(a)

·  
·  
]αικά[  
]εαριτίδας ο[  
]στεφανων[  
]πέριπαντ[  
5 ]τεβρωνπο[  
]λαφυλλαβ[  
]μασιχθονο[

(b)

·  
·  
]λευκω[  
]ρατον[ ]ατεε[  
]οιειφερωντεπ[. .]ριαπ[  
]πο[. .]ἀνοσεπλάθηδ[

**Fr. 76-77** Though I believe that these come from the same neighbourhood, I cannot bring them into any precise relation. Fr. 77 (b) is fixed by cross-fibres at the level shown relatively to fr. 77 (a) but I see no external evidence to show whether it should be placed to left or to right of it. I have chosen the right on account of some apparent congruities in the contents. The interval is uncertain

**Fr. 76 2** Of ω[ only the upper part of the right-hand stroke      3 The feet of two uprights and a thick dot on the line

**Fr. 77 5** ], the right-hand part of ο or ω      6 ], a faint dot slightly below the line      For λ I cannot quite rule out ν      ], the lower part of an upright

**Fr. 77 2** The papyrus is broken off above all the letters before δ, so that it is not known whether any accents were written besides that over the second ι, itself represented only by the upper and lower tips. I know of no meaning which could be attributed to εαριτίε (or, for that matter, to the more intelligible εαριτίε) and find no support for a proper noun 'Εαριτίδας.

5 seqq. The following congruities, referred to above, may be remarked:

τε βρύων . . . φέρων τε;

βρύων . . . -οιει; βρύειν (not in Pindar) is a favourite verb of Bacchylides, in whom it is three times accompanied by a dative.

Ποτ[ιδ]άνος . . . δ[α]μασίχθονο[ε; δαμασίχθων is otherwise recorded only at Bacchyl. xvi 19, where it is applied to Poseidon, of whose name the dialectal form presumed here is employed by Pindar at *Ol.* xiii 5 and 40, apparently because that ode is for a Corinthian.

Less obvious possibilities are πο[λλ]οίει and β[λα] . . . ἐπλάθη.

6 On general grounds I should prefer to presume ]να, and I cannot say it was not written, but it is not the first interpretation of the ink one would choose.

Fr. 77\*

·  
·  
]κ.[  
]τιφθίν[  
]νάντρι[  
]πρωφά[  
5 ]έφρι[  
]νευχο[

Fr. 77\*\*

·  
·  
]αε[  
]μεω[  
]νωκε[  
]εφ[  
] [

**Fr. 77\*\* 1** ], λ or μ      ], the lower half of c or another ε      2 ], a dot on the line

**Fr. 77\* 1** ], below the line the foot of an upright with a trace on its left      ], the lower part of a stroke sloping slightly forward      2 ]τ, η not ruled out      4 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters      5 ], the spacing suggests ι

Fr. 78

Col. i

Col. ii

·  
·  
]..απολ[  
] [ ] β[  
]θων [ ] .[  
]παίμων.  
5 ]οδεcciv      ↑ [ ]  
]ατι      ἀδιαφιλιανβρο[ ] λ[  
]ματων      [ ]  
]φ.εν      [ ]  
]καλαικεν      [ ]  
10 ]νμνοικιηη [ ]

**Fr. 78 Col. i 1 marg.** ]ον or ]ων would suit      4 There is ink over ω like a second shorter and thicker acute accent      8 Between φ and ε the foot of an upright hooked to right and the lower left-hand arc of a circle; perhaps κ but two letters might be represented. Not prima facie ]ωκ

Col. ii 2 Perhaps γ or π but ι followed by the left-hand end of a cross-stroke, e.g. τ, might be made of it      3 The start of a stroke rising to right

**Fr. 78 Col. i 4** παίμων: so Bacchyl. xvi 8 and (beside παίαν) Pind. *Pae.* vi 121, 127, fr. 140 (b) 9. Pind. fr. 343 (παίμων l. 3) I believe should be transferred to Bacchylides. [Now Bacchyl. *Dith.* xxv 3 Sn<sup>7</sup>.]

Col. ii 4 Against this line is the 'ancora', presumably indicating an omission made good in the lower margin.

Fr. 79

(a)

	]	αρ	ζηα[	
	]		[	
	]	ζεβροτων	αυ[	
	]	νιτέμμορέν	ζη[	
	]	επωμενον	[	5
	]	ανατονκα[.]	ζηα[	
(b)	]	μειτωχαμα[		
	]	παμπα[	βαλωνπολε[	
	]	ωπωνευχο[.]	ραποσταξαι [	
(c)	]	ωναρέεθ[	κνδοσειωννιμου [	10
	]	μα[	α βαντες[ ]	
	]	είκει θ[	ονεσμεγανθδρέν [	
	]	δμοις[	ω[.]	
	]	νη[		
(d)	]			15
	]	αρστατον[		
	]	φαμανζ[		
	]	ων[		

Fr. 79 Although the fibres are hard to follow with certainty, I think it probable that (b), (c), (d) stood in the vertical relation shown and that (b), (c) are at the correct level relatively to (a). The distance of (b), (c) from (a) I cannot determine—it is not impossible that the ink at the end of (b) 2 belongs to the same letter as that at the beginning of (a) 9—nor the level of (d), which for all I see might have stood somewhere above (b). I show the result of locating (d) in what I believe to be an alternatively possible position above (b):

(d)	]	(a) 5 seqq.	]	
	]	επωμενον	[	
	]	αρστατον[	ανατονκα[.]	ζηα[
	]	φαμανζ[	μειτωχαμα[	
(b)	]	ων[	παμπα[	βαλωνπολε[
	]	ωπωνευχο[.]	ραποσταξαι κτλ.	

3 ], two traces on the line; may be parts of different letters, e.g. τ 6 ], apparently the lower part of an upright; perhaps the lower right-hand part of θ but not at all suggesting it The following α has traces of ink above it, perhaps an erased accent ], traces compatible with the ends of the left-hand side of λ 7 ], the upper part of a stroke rising from left to right 8 Of π only the foot of the right-hand upright ], a trace compatible with the right-hand side of ο, ω

9 ]...[, the number of letters represented may be four or even five; if there are only three the second might be α, λ, or ν, the third π. See comm. 13 ], an apex as of α or the like 14 ]...[, two traces level with the tops of the letters, possibly ν, followed by a curved stroke, at the same level, which can belong to no vowel but α or ω either of which would be anomalously made ], the top of ο or θ likely but there are other possibilities 15 The foot of an upright, possibly the second upright of the first ν in l. 14 18 There may be a trace of the next letter touching the right-hand end of the overhang of ε

Fr. 79 Simonides is reported to have implied a derivation of Νίκη from ἐνὶ εἴκει (i.e. ἐνὶ ὑποχωρεῖ) in a line which can be assumed with substantial certainty to have been quoted as ἐνὶ δ' οἴω εἴκει θεὰ μέγαν ἐς δίφρον (Bodl. cod. Auct. T ii 11 ap. Cramer AP iv 186; cod. Lips. Tischend. 17 ap. Reitzenstein, *Gesch. d. gr. Etym.* 309). The meaning that these words must have been intended to have is hardly open to doubt: only one man can be the winner, 'for one man only does the goddess (Victory) make way into her great chariot'. But can the Greek express that? My own opinion is that it cannot. The natural translation of it is: Before only one man does the goddess retire into her great chariot. The natural way of expressing what is wanted is shown, e.g., by *Od.* v 332 (τὴν ναῶν) Ἐδρος Ζεφύρωι εἰλάσκε διώκειν, the epexegetic infinitive being an indispensable component. If this is correct, I propose for serious consideration the hypothesis that the fragment of Simonides (80 A Bergk = 39 Diehl) should be identified in l. 12 below in the form: ἐνὶ δ' οἴω εἴκει θεὰ δίφρον ἐς μέγαν θορέν. Considerable changes are involved but some corroborative evidence may be found in the context.

4 ἔμμορέν: the second accent presumably implies that ἔμμορ' ἐν or ἐν- is meant. (It would hardly be necessary to signify that the following verse began with an enclitic.) μορέν (see l. 12 below) is the infinitive which would correspond to the indicative ἔμμορε(ν). ἔμμορέν (but not ἔμμορέν) is theoretically possible, but ἐμμεύρομαι is unattested and inherently improbable.

6 seq. If the alternative location of (d) is right, ἀθάνατον... φάμαν is a reasonable guess.

7 εὐθυμείτω.

7 seq. χαμαί: the accent presumably denotes that χαμαί is part of a compound. Otherwise (and perhaps even if so) there would be a certain attractiveness in εὐθυμείτω, χαμαί... πάμπαν... βαλών, 'let him be of good heart, having cast (say, envy) utterly beneath his feet'. The form of the sentence seems to be the same as at Pind. *Paean* i 2 seq. . . . τις εὐθυμῆται κκιαζέτω νόημα . . . ἰδών.

If θεαδίφρον, l. 12, fixes the interval, there is room for about 5 letters between παμπα[ and ]βαλων.

8 seq. πολέων . . . ἀνθρ]ωπων?, 'of many men'.

9 Again if θεαδίφρον fixes the interval, no complete letter will be missing, but I can make no satisfactory combination of the traces between ευχον and ραπο. ευχονται could be accepted but it leaves [ ]ν before αποσταξαι. An alternative is ευχοντ (or possibly even ευχοιτ, though I think this extremely unlikely) αταν αποσταξαι, from which a sense can be elicited, 'they pray envy may distil away' (cf. Soph. *Antig.* 959), suitable but involving an exceptional sense of ἀποστράζειν, or 'they pray admiration may distil'.

10 Perhaps ἀρέεθ[αυτε]κνδος, the infinitive (like the preceding ἀποστράζει) to be dependent on εὐχον-. I cannot say whether or not the proposed supplement is exactly suitable to the space. Four letters are at first sight too much, but I do not think these four are ruled out, and I can see no alternative nearly as likely.

12 seq. If l. 12 is what I have supposed, the name of Νίκη would suitably have preceded. εὐωνύμου Νίκας in company with a word ending in μα and a participle equivalent to βάντες, when followed by δίφρον ἐς μέγαν θορέν, suggests something of the form ἐς or ἐφ' ἄρμα (βά)ντες, a result which bears a notable resemblance to the last line of the epigram attributed to Simonides *Anth. Pal.* vi 213 εὐδόξον Νίκης ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης. Although there is something of the circular in the argument, the proposals seem to me to afford one another support.

12 θορέν: there are in Pindar and Bacchylides a few examples of the present infinitive with Doric -εν for -ειν; they are paroxytone. There are, I think, none of -εν for -ειν, but the ancient doctrine is that they are oxytone and this is exemplified in the Louvre papyrus of Alcman's Parthenion, *επαίνεν* Col. iii 9. No doubt the aorist infinitive in -εν for -ειν followed the same rule.

A verb meaning 'jump' is used as freely as the more colourless 'step' of Homeric characters when getting into a chariot. The actual word θορεῖν seems to occur only as a description of getting out of it.

## Fr. 80

].[  
 ].υρα·[  
 ]καμεινω·[.].[  
 ]πάσας·καμγαρνῶν[  
 5 ]υστεφανων·υραν·[  
 ]οσανηργενεσθαι·κάμ[  
 ]..ἰᾶδ[  
 ].ἀιχ[

**Fr. 80 2** ], perhaps  $\sigma$  rather than  $\theta$ , though there is a trace on the inside of the curve [ ], an upright with its foot curving to right;  $\beta$ ? 3 [ ], traces of an upright [ ], the feet of two uprights, perhaps belonging to different letters 5 Between  $\nu$  and  $\upsilon$  traces of a cross-stroke suggesting  $\gamma$  but presumably  $\tau$  with the left-hand part of the cross-stroke destroyed [ ], traces of an upright apparently turning to right at the foot 7 [ ], the lower tip of a stroke descending below the line followed by what may be the foot and right-hand end of the cross-stroke of  $\epsilon$  8 [ ],  $\gamma$  or the right-hand part of  $\tau$

**Fr. 80 4** ]πάσας: I do not know why πάσας, 'all', should have been thought to require an accent. On the other hand, I should have expected an aorist participle, e.g.  $\delta$ πάσας, to have appeared in the form -αις (cf. fr. 92, 3).

7 seq. These two lines are on a separate scrap which I am not sure I have been right in attaching here. Since l. 8 may contain the syllable ]γάιχ[, I take the opportunity of suggesting that what Simonides wrote in fr. 65 was not  $\phi$ νυγομάχων but  $\phi$ νγαίχμων.

## Fr. 81

].[  
 ].π·κ[  
 ]μᾶκη·[

**Fr. 81 1** ], a tall upright slanting slightly to right as it descends Between  $\pi$  and  $\kappa$  the lower part of an upright followed by a trace suiting the lower right-hand arc of a circle 2 [ ], the bottom left-hand arc of a circle

## Fr. 82

].[  
 ].χάιου[  
 ]τοϛ·[

**Fr. 82 2** ], perhaps a sign of division, not part of a letter The top half of  $\chi$  lost but  $\lambda$  less probable

## Fr. 83

].[  
 ]ωνα·[  
 ]λλεκτορ·[  
 ]..δριου[  
 ]ατασαιτ[  
 5 ]..οικι·β[  
 ]..[

**Fr. 83 1** ], perhaps the top and bottom of an upright 2 Of ]λ only the tail,  $\alpha$  not ruled out [ ], the lower part of an upright hooked to right 3 [ ].., the tops of a stroke descending to right and an upright,  $\alpha$  acceptable but not verifiable  $\phi$  is corrected from  $\alpha$  5 [ ], the upper end of a stroke rising from left or perhaps the right-hand side of the loop of  $\rho$

## Fr. 84

].[  
 ]ομιω·[  
 ]βροταν[  
 ]μηνπετ[  
 ]μνανηρ·[  
 5 ]ἄειδιόντῶνα·ε[  
 ]σευθειρακ·[  
 ]μετεραν·[  
 ]άνα·π[  
 ]σοκομαθ[  
 10 ]μει·πίνων[  
 ]ρ[.]. ὕδωρ·τόδ[  
 ]σεδ'εγω[  
 ]ναππ[  
 ]ναφ·.[  
 15 ] [ ] [ ]  
 ].ιως[

**Fr. 84 1** ], an upright 4 [ ], traces compatible with the top and bottom of the left-hand part of  $\epsilon$ , but many other possibilities 6 [ ], the left-hand edge of  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  7 [ ], the top of a tall upright,  $\phi$  suggested by the spacing 8 Between  $\alpha$  and  $\pi$  it would be possible to accommodate  $\xi\alpha$  but the traces are too exiguous to verify them  $\pi$  might be  $\gamma$  followed by the lower part of an upright 11 [ ], an upright 12 Of  $\zeta$  only the overhang 14 [ ], an upright curving to right at top and bottom followed by the extreme end of an upright descending below the line, e.g.  $\epsilon\rho$  16 [ ], a trace of the upper part of a stroke ascending from left to right

**Fr. 84 1** ]ομιω·[ may be many things but it seems worth recalling the name of Chromius, for whose victory with the chariot in the Pythia at Sicyon Pindar's ninth Nemean was composed. The name of Sicyon is found in fr. 115, 117 below, but I can bring them into no relation with this fragment.

2 ἀμ]βρόταν[ a v.l. at Pind. fr. 75, 16; otherwise compounds of -μβροτος are of two endings in Pindar and Bacchylides.

3 The dialectal  $\eta$  suggests μήν or one of the few nouns in -μήν. πετ[ ], if rightly read, may also be many things and I recall the name of the Thessalian Πετραία (Bacchyl. xiv tit.) only because the lexis and works of reference have not yet caught up with it.

6 εὐέθειρα: hitherto only in Anacr. 76. Supplemented by Maas in Bacchyl. Enc. 20 A 20, εὐέθει]ραν.

9 χρυ]σοκόμα: in Pindar and Bacchylides always of Apollo.

10 seq. πίνων . . . ὕδωρ: perhaps the name of a river intervened and the sense was 'dwelling by the . . .', but Pind. Ol. vi 85 suggests at least one other possibility.

11 τόδ[ ], i.e. τό δε . . . not τόδε.

## Fr. 85

]λα[  
 ]εκ[  
 ]ενικ[  
 ]μοδρο[  
 5 ] [   
 ]ποικι[  
 ]...[

Fr. 85 2 ], γ or the right-hand part of τ  
7 γ or τ, α or δ, δ or λ, are the prima facie probabilities

Fr. 85 4 Perhaps σταδ[μοδρο][μ- is the likeliest guess, in view of fr. 92, 3; 96, 3; 99, 2, though I cannot bring this scrap into relation with them. σταδιοδρόμος in the epigram by Simonides *Anth. Pal.* xiii 14. But 'Ολυμπ[μοδρο][μ- is an alternative suggested by Bacchyl. iii 3 and there are others. If ι, which is close to the edge of the break, is part of another letter, the articulation becomes equivocal and the range of choice is greatly widened.

## Fr. 87

]γετασ[  
 ]ονγεν[  
 ]εροεν[  
 ]εκα[

Fr. 87 1 ], a short arc from the lower right-hand side of a circle [., an upright curving to right in its lower part, perhaps ω 3 Of ]ε only the top; υ perhaps possible 4 ], perhaps the upper part of the upper arm of κ

## Fr. 86

]...[  
 ]ῥμνεον[  
 ]ρον· [   
 ]τιν·α[  
 5 ] δωριλι[  
 ]·οριμε[  
 ]...[

Fr. 86 1 The lower end of a stroke descending from left, the foot of ε or ε, the foot of an upright 4 Above α[ the left-hand arc of a small circle 5 ], perhaps the right-hand ends of υ 6 ], the upper part of an upright. The stop may be casual ink [., the lower part of a slightly convex upright 7 ], perhaps the upper right-hand stroke of ω [., perhaps the upper right-hand side of the loop of ρ

Fr. 86 5 If ]δωρ 'Ιλι[ε(c)-, it may be noted that fr. 120 (b) 3 seqq. may have been written for an Athenian, but I can see no connexion between that fragment and this. I do not think that ελι[., e.g. ελιεε-, ελιε-, can be contemplated as a possible reading.

## Fr. 88

]αν[  
 ]ῶεπ[  
 ] [   
 ]...[

Fr. 88 1 ], the lower part of an upright

## Fr. 89

]γετ[  
 ]κατ[  
 ] [   
 ]ψ[

Fr. 89 1 Of τ[ only the left-hand end of the cross-stroke

## Fr. 90

]μο[  
 ]ῶεπ[  
 ]ειδο[

Fr. 90 1 [., the lower left-hand part of ε or the like

## Fr. 91

]δ'αν[  
 ]ῶχμ[  
 ]αρεγ[  
 ]κεν[  
 5 ]αεα[

Fr. 91 2 [., traces suggesting the foot of an upright 3 For η possibly an anomalously written π 5 Below the tail of ]α a dot, perhaps fortuitous; not the usual 'divider'

## Fr. 92

Col. i . . . . . Col. ii . . . . .  
 ]...[  
 ]εξιπεριετ[ε]ιχοιδε [   
 ]ποτάμιονσταδιοντελεσσαic [   
 ]ωνιοσευφρων[.....]μέλ[.]ικαν [   
 5 ]μελλοντοσολβου-τονδ'ε[ ] [ ]ουτοςήετιχοι ωτινι...[.]...[ ] [   
 ]τωιορριχιδαι  
 ]μα[ ]χαιρωνδ'αμφιπαχυν,ώεθ'υιω'μάτηροψι α[   
 ]...γμενωσεχω· εχωπολεων εχω· πολεω [   
 ]οναε[... ]ν[.]δ'εμινβ[ε] 7 letters]νος·εδε [

Fr. 92 Col. i 2 Of εξι only the feet 6 [., the lower part of an upright; if ν, nothing missing, if ι, room for one letter between it and χ 7 ]... traces consistent with a stroke descending from left to right, followed by the lower end of a stroke descending from right, λα acceptable 8 After ]ν prima facie ι, the trema added by a different hand; but perhaps a better interpretation is ]ν followed by a high stop and ι with a dot above it signifying cancellation

Fr. 92 Col. i 2 The alteration of -ετιεχ- to -ετιχ- may be explicable as a change of present to aorist or as a reflexion of the view (as old as Aristarchus) that there existed a present stem -ετιχ-; see schol. *Od.* iv 277, Hesych. in περιετ[ε]ίξαι (cf. Phot. = Suid. in ν.), et al. This relates to a verb



meaning 'walk (round)'. But in the marginal note against l. 5 π(ερι)τείχου is followed by datives and, if these are dependent on it, must be presumed to mean 'place round'. No such use is otherwise recorded. (περικιχίω Aesch. *Agam.* 1383 is likewise unique and unexplained.)

3 seq. I should guess that -onius is the end of the name of a victor, who rejoicing at his recent success in the two hundred yards is recommended to do something in regard to Orrichidas.

4 μέ[ο]ικαν seems likely but there are other possibilities, especially as λ[.] is not certain and λη might be substituted.

5 seq. I suppose the general sense to be 'I welcome him' but I do not venture to supplement ε|γώ or any specific verb, such as δέκομαι, since there is a considerable choice of detail by which the notion might be expressed.

*Marg.* Ὀρριχίδαι: the name does not recur. I suppose it implies Ὀραχος (as at IG iv 1484, 10), with -pp- for -pc- as, e.g., in the name of the Megarian Ὀρριπος (IG vii 52), who started the custom of running naked.

6 Cf. Simon, fr. 37 ἀμφὶ . . . Περσεὶ βάλλε φίλαν χέρα (sc. his mother Danae).

ὤσθ': ὤστε of comparison is properly an Ionic characteristic, but since it is found as a variant of the Doric ὠστε in MSS. of Pindar (ὠστε and ὠστε once each in Bacchylides), no inferences are to be drawn from its occurrence here.

ὤστε . . . μάτηρ: cf. *Il.* xxiii 783 μήτηρ ὤσ.

υῖω . . . ὀμιγόνωι: cf. *Hom. h. Dem.* 165, 219 seq., 2359 fr. 1 i 2.

7 Apparently an adverb formed from a perfect participle. I should have said that such adverbs were both prosy and apt to be of a later date than would be ascribed to these remains.

The marginal note apparently records a variant punctuation. The text stops a clause at ἔχω. The variant presumably ran on as far as ]ν in the next line, if there is a stop there (see app. crit.), or beyond.

8 πολέων ]οναε[ ]ν: πολέων I should say was more probably the genitive plural of πολός than the participle of πολεῖν, but it must be remarked that ἀέθλω]ν, which might be thought of, seems too long.

[?]δεμν: [ε]δε μν looks overwhelmingly probable. Though there are other possibilities, I can see none which will account for the ink between ]ν and [., unless indeed it is a letter which has been cancelled.

## Fr. 93

.]...δε[  
] προθενουδε[  
]μελαμφυλ[

Fr. 93 1 ]., the foot of an upright slightly hooked to right This is followed by the foot of ε or c and the lower part of an upright

Fr. 93 Perhaps from the same column as fr. 92 i.

1 ε]πει δέ . . ., one possibility.

1 seq. ἀπ[.]προθεν.

3 μελάμφυλλος applied to trees with dark leaves, τό places dark with leaves, as a proper name to a place in Abdera (Pind. *Pae.* ii 69 = 841 Col. vi 4 seq. c. schol.).

## Fr. 94

]νεστινα[  
]ρονιδαι[  
]ντεκεμ[

Fr. 94 2 seq. Κ]ρονιδαι. The text may have been of the same general nature as Pind. *Ol.* vi 29 seq. ἄ τοι Ποσειδάωμει χθεῖσα Κρονίω λέγεται παῖδα . . . τεκέμεν (which I adduce merely as a curiosity, the indispensable components being only a part of τίκτειν and the dative of the father).

## Fr. 95

.]...[  
]ποπτύ[  
]μησα[  
]τωλω[

Fr. 95 1 The base of a circle followed by the lower part of an upright; the remains of the third letter suggest α but ε or c, ω and other choices are possible 2 ], perhaps the extreme ends of the upper and lower left-hand strokes of χ, but ξ perhaps not ruled out 4 Of 7 only the right-hand end of the cross-stroke, γ equally possible

## Fr. 96

.]...[  
]ρ.ε[.]λοσ[  
]διόντενικα[  
]ατιαλλεινπ[  
]cen  
5 ]ευσενακτ[.]καιθερ[  
]θυμηπάλαςεις[  
]ανουτοιζομε[  
].εμελγ[

Fr. 96 1 The lower end of an upright descending below the line, the left-hand side of a circle, traces on the line compatible with the base of a circle or loop 2 After ο the lower part of an upright, thickened as if twice written; after ε the foot of an upright hooked to left Of λ only the lower end of the right-hand stroke, but μ less probable 5 Of ρ[ only the lower part of the tail 6 ], an upright with a trace sloping up to the right at its top; ν not verifiable Above ε traces of an interlinear letter with a dot to its right, perhaps ·]η· [., an apex suggesting the left-hand apex of μ; ν I think ruled out 8 ], perhaps the extreme right-hand end of the cross-bar of γ or a like letter touching the back of ε Of ν[ only the tip of the left-hand branch

Fr. 96 3 σταδίων τε . . . Perhaps a clause of the same kind as σταδίου κρατήσας Bacch. vi 15, σταδίου νικῶν δρόμον Pind. *Ol.* xiii 30, but ἀτιαλλειν in the next line suggests the possibility of a future, νικάσοντα, rather than an aorist.

5 The superscript ]cen indicates the articulation ]ευcen. What follows might at first sight be taken for ἀκτ[.]ε or ἀκτ[.]ε followed by some case or derivative of αἰθήρ. But since, if the letters are so articulated, the acute accent implies that a clause ended after c and one would have expected this to be shown unambiguously by a stop, the alternative ἀκτ[.]αι θερ[ must be considered in theory more probable. (For the verb or verbs ἀκτάζειν see Cronert's *Passow* s.vv.)

6 παλαςεις: I have found no plausible explanation of this word as it stands. There is no trace of παλάω for παλαίω and ἐκπαλέε Hippoc. *Art.* 53 shows that the recorded forms referred to παλέω are rightly so referred though they are in themselves ambiguous. I therefore suggest that there may be a simple error and that πελάσει is meant.

There is no reason why -ceis should not be an aorist subjunctive—the short-vowel subjunctive

of the  $\epsilon$ -aorist is metrically guaranteed for Pindar by *Ol.* i 7, fr. 133, 2—but the dialectal form has not in general been preserved, when not metrically safeguarded, in MSS. of Pindar and Bacchylides, and it may have had the common  $\eta$  superscribed here. Or it may be the future.

## Fr. 97

]. $\chi$ αλ[  
]γνωνᾶ[

**Fr. 97-98** For a possible relation between these two see comm.

**Fr. 97 1** For  $\chi$  possibly  $\kappa$  2 What I have taken for \* perhaps part of an interlinear letter. There is ink not accounted for between this and the right-hand end of —

## Fr. 99

].αυ[  
]διονγνα[  
]εξειβ.....[  
].[.]. $\zeta$ εν[  
5 ]οστεκ[  
] [

**Fr. 99 1** ], perhaps the right-hand end of the cross-stroke of  $\epsilon$  2 ], an upright with the start of a stroke crossing its top,  $\mu$  possible but not suggested 3 Of  $\zeta$  only the lower part,  $\epsilon$  equally possible After  $\beta$  only the tops of letters, of which the fourth is  $\epsilon$  or  $\zeta$ ; after this the tip of an upright against the left-hand end of a cross-stroke as of  $\tau$  4 ], the top of an upright followed by a high stop or the end of an acute ], the upper end of a stroke descending left to right

**Fr. 99 2** Perhaps  $\epsilon\tau\alpha$ ]διον again. γνα.[ can hardly be other than γναμ[, though the ink does not particularly suggest it, but the  $\epsilon\tau\alpha$ ]διον itself was not γναμπτόν, so that there is no guidance how to continue.  $\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha$ ]διον does not appear to be in use for  $\delta\iota\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

## Fr. 98

].αλικια[

**Fr. 98** For αλ I cannot rule out  $\mu$  Of  $\iota$  only the lower part;  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\nu$  are other choices open

**Fr. 97-98** I am not sure, though I cannot follow the cross-fibres with certainty and there is no guidance in the back, which is stripped, that fr. 98 does not join fr. 97, 2 to give ]γνωνᾶλικ.α[. There is an unexplained short horizontal stroke above the right-hand end of —, the presumed rough breathing (apparently, with the  $\alpha$ , in a different hand from the rest) might be taken as the central part of  $\epsilon$ . It would appear that the forms or derivatives of  $\epsilon\lambda\iota\zeta$  on the one hand and of  $\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$  on the other may be dismissed from consideration, since there could hardly be two views about the quantity of  $\alpha$  in these. But I have no plausible positive suggestion to make and it may well be that the combination is mistaken.

## Fr. 100

].αδολ[  
]λαδεῖ[

## Fr. 101

].[  
]. $\nu$ ων[  
]. [

**Fr. 101 1** The base of a circle with the foot of an upright touching it on right 2 ], an apex

## Fr. 102

]. $\alpha$   $\epsilon\tau$ . [

**Fr. 102 2** ], the upper end of a stroke descending from left to right, perhaps  $\alpha$ , though very close to  $\tau$ ; otherwise  $\nu$

## Fr. 104

]. $\phi$ . [  $\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha$  [

## Fr. 106

]. $\acute{\omega}$ ς[  
]. $\iota$ κ. [

**Fr. 106 2** ], the middle part of an upright

## Fr. 108

].ατεορ[  
2 ll. lost  
]. [  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$ . [

**Fr. 108 1** For  $\iota$  some other letters beginning with an upright could not be ruled out 5 ], an upright with ink to right of its top, perhaps  $\pi$  but there are other possibilities

## Fr. 110

].κατεν[

## Fr. 103

]. $\nu$ . [

**Fr. 103** ], the lower end of a stroke descending from left, e.g.  $\alpha$  ], the lower half of an upright, its foot turning slightly to left

## Fr. 105

].οπ[

## Fr. 107

]. [  $\omicron\pi\omega$  [

**Fr. 107 1** The lower part of a stroke curving to right as it descends, e.g.  $\epsilon$  or the like,  $\mu$  & c. followed by the foot of an upright, hooked to right, descending below the line 2 ], the lower end of a stroke descending from left,  $\delta$  suggested

## Fr. 109

]. $\epsilon\mu$ ... [

**Fr. 109** Perhaps  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda'$  or  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\lambda'$  The last surviving letter may be an upright which has been struck through

## Fr. 111

]. $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . [

**Fr. 111** ], the base of a circle,  $\theta$  or  $\omicron$  not a

## Fr. 112

].α.[

Fr. 112 1., the top of an upright to right     2., the top of an upright from which a stroke descends

## Fr. 113

Col. i	Col. ii
]	.[
]	λα[
]	υ.[
]	φ.[
]	5 θ.[
]	τρ[
]	ιροξιφος
]	].κ[

Fr. 113 Col. i *margin* 3 For ]ι perhaps 4 ], the upper part of an upright Col. ii 3 ], a sinuous upright 5 ], υ suggested 6 ], ι not suggested but the surface is damaged

## Fr. 114

].ενκά.[  
].εγρυφδλ[  
].ρα.γελια[  
].[...].ν[

Fr. 114 1 Perhaps π[ but the surface is both damaged and dirty 3 ], an upright with ink (some perhaps casual) to the left of its foot and the right of its top; possibly ].[[ ] The ink between α and γ is clear but I cannot interpret it satisfactorily; first comes λ, with traces of ink about it that may denote alteration or cancellation, then ι, on the upper part of which the original hand has superposed γ; αγγελια may be intended 4 The first letter had a flat top Before [.] either μ or ο (or θ) and the tip of an upright

## Fr. 115

].  
].κυωνι[  
]..[

Fr. 115 Apparently the top of a column

## Fr. 116

].ων[  
].

Fr. 116 1 ], perhaps τ but may be an upright from which ink has run along a fibre

## Fr. 117

Col. i	Col. ii
	1. λ <sup>ε</sup>
]	υγων
]	δον
]	κλεο[ ] νικη
5 ]	γενεθα[ ] ενδαιω
]	προστ.[ ] κυωνι
	α[
	εν[
	εϋ[

Fr. 117 Col. i 4 *margin* 2 The ink now looks like εθ or cθ, not ecθ, but I think this must be because I have made a bad join of θα, which was detached

Col. ii 6 Prima facie the cross-stroke of τ, but there is ink not accounted for under the left-hand end

Fr. 117 Col. i 4 *margin*. γενεθα[ι, M]ενδαιωι and C]κυωνι seem fairly secure, but I can suggest no supplements which give a satisfactory running sense.

## Fr. 118

]	νυ
]	ητοι του βωμου της
]	περι[ ] νομενου ητου
]	...γαλματος
5 ]	ποδα[ ] μονλεγομ[
]	].[ ] ακαταλεγο[
	αν

Fr. 118 1 A dot on the line followed by another to right of which is a stroke descending from left to right; ].δ suggested but perhaps ].α 3 ], apparently the upper end of an acute, not part of a letter 4 ], an upright 6 Besides the letter or letters on the line—the ink looks like the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top of the upper left-hand side of a circle—there is a short upright above and to right, apparently ι *margin* 1 ανεμ would fill the space and suit the traces 2 Or ω[

Fr. 118 3 *margin*. ητοι του βωμου της Έστ[ίας | περι[αι]νομένου η του [ταύ]της αγάλματος. I do not know whether it may be assumed from the spelling that some form of περιρ[α]ίνειν also occurred in the text.

6 *margin*. If ποδαεμον is right, it is to be said that there is no relation that I can see to fr. 131.

Perhaps the note contained the statement that λέγειν was used in the text in the sense of καταλέγειν. (For something of the sort cf. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* iv 336.)

## Fr. 119

] [ .  
 ] . φαλμέ[ .  
 ] αυγαῖ : [  
 ] νῆπόμε[  
 5 ] ελεεργύ[

Fr. 119 2 ], a comma-like mark level with the tops of the letters, c not particularly suggested [ , the foot of an upright 5 Of τυ only the tops, other interpretations possible

Fr. 119 2 Since the word appears to be accented like a perfect participle, ε]εφαλμέν[- is acceptable (not ]εφάλ-).

3 αυγαί v.l. αυγαῖ; only the plural found in Pindar and Bacchylides.

## Fr. 120

(a) . . . . .  
 ] . αααα[ . . . . .  
 ] ζινιππ[ .  
 ] . ἀπάλλ[ .  
 ] . [ .  
 (b) . . . . .  
 ] γγειτ[ . . . . .  
 ] [ . . . . .  
 ] τιαθηναιωι[ .  
 ] καιέπό[ ] νύνα[ .  
 5 ] πάρεδρεαθανα[ .  
 ] αρωναγλαί[ .  
 ] κ[ .

Fr. 120 The vertical relation of (a), (b) is fixed by the fibres of the back. Their interval there is nothing to show. It is not improbable that (a) 4 is the line immediately preceding (b) 1

(a) 1 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters 2 The top of ζ is abnormally flat and γ might be read [ , a small curved stroke compatible with α, ο, ω, &c. 3 ], a dot above the general level For α perhaps μ 4 The top of a circle; the distance from the preceding line suggests that it may be a circumflex rather than the top of a letter

(b) 3 α represented only by the extreme tip of the tail, ε by the lower part Or μ[ 4 [ ], a narrow letter 5-6 The interlinear space is greater than that between 3-4, 4-5, 6-7 6 ]δ less likely 7 [ ], perhaps the top of the loop of ρ

Fr. 120 (a) 1-3 and (b) 3-5 are written closer than the lines of the other pieces resembling this. The normal spacing is seen between (b) 5-6, but between (b) 6-7 the closer appears to be resumed. Between (b) 1 and 3 there is an interval larger than the normal and even larger than that

allowed for one of the lines of the closer writing, though not large enough for two. (b) 3 appears to contain a heading. A comparison with fr. 35 (b), where the heading and the following verse are at the same interval as any other pair of lines, and the heading and the preceding verse are separated by a blank space which would accommodate one line at the normal interval from both, suggests that a short line may have been lost after (b) 1 and a blank of slightly less than enough for one line of the closer writing left between it and (b) 3.

(b) 3 The non-dialectal η seems to guarantee that this line is not part of the composition. It must be presumed to be a heading. If what follows is an epinician ode (about which I see no evidence) and if the author is Simonides, it may be worth while to remind the reader that in the titles of Simonidean epinicians there is reason to believe that the signification of the contest preceded the name of the victor (see on 2431) and that in that case Αθηναίωι here might be, not the ethnic, but the proper name, Αθήναιος, the ethnic being represented by the following letter (Αθήναιος Περικλειδα Λάκων in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., Thuc. iv 119, schol. Aristoph. Eq. 691). On any view, λ[ or μ[ can hardly be the beginning of an event, whereas ]τ[ could be the end of κέλητι.

4 The accentuation is puzzling and precludes the obvious articulation και ε(ε) έπα[ρ]ύνα[ε. και ε' έπ' όρν. may be thought of, but I should certainly have expected the elision of έπί in anastrophe to be indicated.

5 πάρεδρε: I suppose refers back to εέ.

Αθανα[ or άθανα[τ-.

## Fr. 121

] . [ . . . . .  
 ] ρωνιχρ[ .  
 ] όντέοιέ[ .  
 ] αμφ[ .  
 5 ] . ερωτ[ .  
 ] . δρα[ .

Fr. 121 1 The lower part of an upright descending below the line 3 Of ]ο only the bottom right-hand part 5 ], the upper part of an upright [ , a trace suiting the extreme tip of the loop of α 6 ], ν not ruled out, but there might be parts of two letters

## Fr. 122

] ωσκη[ . . . . .  
 ] πολλ[ .  
 ] ξαν[ .  
 ] νησω[ .  
 5 ] . φευ[ .  
 ] μα[ .

Fr. 122 1 ] . ο perhaps not ruled out 2 [ ], an upright, ω one possibility 5 ], the top of ε or c

## Fr. 123

] . . . . .  
 ] τεχε[ .  
 ] [ .  
 ] . [ .

## Fr. 124

. . . . . ]ca.[  
 . . . . . ]..]κι .[  
 ]κρατονευχερει[  
 ]γεραιρεινγα[  
 5 ]αιον· [ 1.ραθ.[  
 ].δεπη[  
 ].[

Fr. 124-6 appear to have stood in close proximity. I am by no means sure that fr. 125 and fr. 126 should not be joined so that the bottom of the first stroke of  $\nu$  in fr. 126 is represented by the dot at the end of fr. 125, 1. Fr. 125 and fr. 126 together may well have come from below fr. 124

Fr. 124 1 .[, the upper part of an upright 2  $\iota$  is longer than normal but some of the loop of  $\rho$  should be visible and there is no trace of ink after it for the space of more than a letter .[, two dots, one above the other, presumably belonging to a marginal addition 5 *margin*. Possibly ] $\alpha$  and  $\phi$  or  $\omega$

## Fr. 127

. . . . . ]θέε[  
 . . . . . ].κις[  
 . . . . . ].ερο[  
 ]λαυθ[  
 5 ]. [   
 ] [

## Fr. 128

. . . . . [ ]  
 . . . . . ] $\rho$ . [   
 . . . . . ] $\nu$  [

Fr. 128 2 .[, an upright perhaps hooked to right at the foot

## Fr. 125

. . . . . ]αρθε.[  
 . . . . . ]μας·α[

## Fr. 126

. . . . . ] $\nu$ ος[

## Fr. 129

. . . . . ].[  
 . . . . . ]αι.[

Fr. 129 2 .[, a slightly convex upright with the start of a stroke descending to right from its top

## Fr. 130

. . . . . ].[  
 . . . . . ]..[  
 . . . . . ]εν[

Fr. 130 1 The foot of an upright hooked to right with traces of ink to its left 2 Perhaps ] $\beta$  but the surface is damaged and the ink has run .[, the left-hand edge of an upright

## Fr. 131

. . . . . ] $\nu$ ...[  
 . . . . . ]ειποδα[  
 . . . . . ]κυκλονμ[  
 ]επαλφειω·λεγοι.[  
 5 ]αστρατον[.]ηκ[  
 ].πιαιμηδ[

Fr. 131 1 The two letters after  $\nu$  are unusually close together; the first may be  $\theta$ , less probably  $\sigma$ ; the second  $\alpha$ , less probably  $\chi$ . Of the third only a dot on the line remains 4 .[, the upper part of an upright with a trace of a stroke descending to right from its top 6 .[, the top of an upright

Fr. 131 2 ]ει ποδα[ seems the likeliest articulation and ποδα[νεμ- then the likeliest supplement, though this word does not occur in Pindar and only once in Bacchylides, vi 13 (where may be noted as a curiosity l. 3 ἐπ' Ἀλφειῶν, l. 4, and l. 6 Ὀλυμπίαι corresponding to Ὀλυμπίαι, l. 6). I have already said that I can see no connexion with fr. 118, 6 *margin*, where ποδανεμον perhaps recurs.

3 Perhaps κύκλον, as at Pind. *Ol.* ix 93 of the place of contest or as at Bacchyl. ix 30 of the spectators. But a compound is also possible. 6 Ὀλυμπίαι.

## Fr. 135

. . . . . ]κάδεα[  
 . . . . . ]αεν[

## Fr. 136

. . . . . ]..[  
 . . . . . ]δελφι.[  
 . . . . . ] $\nu$ δ[

Fr. 136 1 Traces suiting the feet of two uprights on the line and the lower part of an upright descending below it 2 .[, a dot just below the level of the tops of the letters

## Fr. 132

. . . . . ]νοιδεν[  
 . . . . . ]...το  
 ]φοτερωνκ[

Fr. 132 2 The interlinear letters might be read ]εκλιτο but there are other equally probable interpretations

## Fr. 133

. . . . . ].α.[  
 . . . . . ].αδελ[  
 . . . . . ] [

Fr. 133 1 .[, the lower end of a stroke descending from left, κ? .[, the start of a stroke ascending to right 2 .[,  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$

## Fr. 134

. . . . . ].καιγείδ.[  
 . . . . . ]μεξα[

Fr. 134 1 .[, a dot level with the top of the letters .[, perhaps the bottom left-hand side of the loop of  $\alpha$

Fr. 134 1 Possibly a reference to *Αιγείδαι*, a family name found at Sparta, Thebes, Athens, and other places in the Greek world. The accent, shown by the dots to be a variant (the first written alternative to which must therefore have fallen farther forward), I take to imply a difference of view about *Αιγείδαν*, whether genitive plural or accusative singular.

Fr. 137

]. . . . [ .  
 ]ωνερ[ .  
 ]ωει[ .  
 ]εεστε[ .  
 ]ω[ .

Fr. 137 1 Feet of uprights, the third descending below the line 3], the tail of α or λ ], a corrected or deleted letter beginning with an upright; ν? 4 ], the upper part of an upright 5 ], two dots level with the top of the letters, on a single fibre

Fr. 140

]όαιτα[ .  
 ]ομ[ .

Fr. 140 2 ], the top of an upright

Fr. 141

]ον[ .  
 ]ραμ[ .  
 ]ν[ .

Fr. 141 3 ], the top of an upright

Fr. 143

]ος[ .  
 ]νίδοαλκικα[ .  
 ]ετεκου[ .  
 ]νονε[ .

Fr. 143 4 ], above the line the extreme top of a small circle, not in the right position for a circumflex; in the line the upper part of an upright with a trace of a cross-stroke (which may be ink that has run along a fibre) touching its left-hand side just below the top. I am inclined to think ], should be written

Fr. 138

]κυμ[ .  
 ]ρωσπρ[ .  
 ]γοράικα[ .

Fr. 138 2 ], perhaps the tip of the left-hand arm of ν or possibly of the hook to left with which ε is sometimes made

Fr. 139

]ρονη[ .  
 ].ημ[ .  
 ]ακεδ[ .  
 ][ .

Fr. 139 1 ], the lower end of an upright descending below the line 2 ], the foot of a stroke hooked to right For μ[ perhaps α[

Fr. 142

]α[ .  
 ]λέ[ .

Fr. 142 1 ], perhaps the overhang of c ], the foot of a stroke leaning slightly to right

Fr. 144

]οι[ .  
 ]ν[ .  
 ].ελος[ .

Fr. 144 1 ], the lower part of an upright 3 ], τ seems to me slightly more likely than γ

Fr. 145

]εερμ[ .

Fr. 148

]πετραιω[ .  
 ]μέναιδ[ .  
 ].].νς[ .

Fr. 148 1 Of π only the right-hand upright, of τ only the shank

Fr. 148 1 It may be useful (if πετραιω is rightly recognized) to recall the facts that Poseidon was honoured as Πετραῖος in Thessaly (Pind. Pyth. iv 138 c. scholl.) and games called Πετραία celebrated in his precinct (Bacchyl. xiv tit. and v. 20), and that Πετραῖος is a common Thessalian name. But there is no particular reason to suppose that πετραῖος has not one of its ordinary senses here. Pindar, for instance, calls the polyp θῆρ πετραῖος (fr. 43) and there is a reference to the polyp in Simonides fr. 11.

Fr. 151

]οφ[ .  
 ]νδ[ .

Fr. 146

]κτο[ .  
 ]θα[ .

Fr. 146 1 ], the middle of an upright 2 ], the upper part of an upright, apparently slightly convex

Fr. 147

]τερο[ .  
 ]ος[ .

Fr. 149

]γνονυδ[ .

Fr. 149 Not ]γνον and therefore not Simon, fr. 44.

Fr. 150

]ν,η[ .  
 ].αι[ .

Fr. 150 2 ], perhaps the tip of the upper arm of κ, but above the general level ], traces of an upright

Fr. 152

]ν[.][ .  
 ].[. [ .

Fr. 152 1 ], the lower right-hand arc of ο or the like ], an upright struck through 2 ], a trace of a stroke descending from left to right ], the upper left-hand arc of ο or the like

Fr. 153

·  
]α.α.·  
·

Fr. 153 Between α and α, γ or the right-hand part of τ . . ., the foot of an upright followed by the lower part of an upright leaning slightly to right

Fr. 155

·  
] [·  
]ζεξηλασε[  
]ωντε[  
] [·

Fr. 157

·  
] . . . ]ετ.·  
]οθυώδεοι[  
]ανποσιώρα[  
]κολβιοτελε[

Fr. 157 1 ] . . ., the tail of an upright descending well below the line, e.g. φ . . ., perhaps the foot of ε 2 ε[ seems to have been written though it seems that ε must have been intended [ . . ., interlinear traces 3 α[ is anomalously made with a very sharp angle as in the iambic pieces, 2318, instead of the usual round-ended loop

Fr. 157 But for the contents I should have assigned this to 2318, of which compare especially fr. 8.

4 ολβιοτελής new.

Fr. 154

·  
]μ [·  
]c [·  
]αις[  
] εχ.·  
] . [·

Fr. 154 1 ] . . ., the lower end of a stroke descending from left 3 ] . . ., the upper end of a stroke ascending to right, perhaps χ

Fr. 156

·  
] [·  
]αριγνωτ.·[  
] . . . ἀρετᾶ·  
] . [·

Fr. 156 2 Possibly οη[ or οη[ but the surface is damaged and verification is not possible 3 ] . . . two traces on a single fibre compatible with ε

Fr. 156 3 ἀρετᾶς v.l. ἀρετᾶς.

Fr. 158 Vacant

Fr. 159

·  
]ν [·  
]ν [·  
] . . . [·  
] . ε [·

Fr. 159 1 marg. 3 The ink immediately before λ most resembles ν but I am not sure that π or η may not have been written. The preceding letter may be a damaged μ 4 ] . . . α or perhaps λ

Fr. 160

(a) ·  
]ρόντε[  
(b) ·  
]ποπ[  
] . . .  
] . . .  
] . [·

Fr. 160 The relative positions of (a), (b) are fixed by the fibres of the backs. There is no way of determining whether only one or more lines are lost between them

(b) 3 The horizontal top stroke of ζ, ξ suggested

Fr. 163

·  
] . ε [·  
] . ταν[

Fr. 163 1 ] . . ., the right-hand end of a cross-stroke as of γ or τ 2 ] . . ., the upper part of an upright rising above the general level

Fr. 166

·  
] [·  
]νπφ[

Fr. 161

·  
]κα[  
]ον[  
]c.·[

Fr. 161 3 ] . . ., the left-hand angle of γ or π

Fr. 162

·  
]αν.·[  
]εδ[

Fr. 164

·  
] . ε [·  
]ποστα[

Fr. 164 1 ] . . ., the upper part of an upright

Fr. 165

·  
]ππ[  
] . ον[

Fr. 165 2 ] . . ., the right-hand end of a cross-stroke as of γ or τ

## 2431. SIMONIDES, Epinicians?

The grounds for the conjecture that the following fragments are to be attributed as above are set out in the note on the title in fr. 1, but what is preserved is neither extensive nor comprehensible enough to make the identification of the author of much value. If it is correct, however, it rules out Simonides as the author of P. Strasb. inv. gr. 1406-9 (proposed by Snell, *Hermes Einzelsch.* v 98 seqq.), in which the form of title is different.

The hand is a well-executed upright rounded uncial of above medium size and uncommon type, which I suppose to be assignable to the second century. Some, perhaps all, of the sparse accents and other additions seem to be by the copyist.



## Fr. 1

(a)	]	κελητι	[	κελητι
	]	τουκαιαιτιουπαιων	[	τοις Αιατίου παισίν.
	]	α[[ρ]]κρονοιοπαισερικυδ[		]α Κρόνιοιο παῖς ἐρικυδ[ήσ
	]	ιαπιουγενεαν	[	]Αιατίου γενεάν
5	]	ταικαιχρυσοφ[.]μ.	[	]ται και χρυσοφ[όρ]μι[γξ
	]	απολλωνεκαταβολο[		Ἀπόλλων ἐκαταβόλο[
	]	καμαινειλ. παρατεπυ.	[	καμαινει λιπαρά τε Πυθ[ώ
	]	θιπποδρ[.]..	[	.θ' ἵπποδρ[.]..
	]	.].σε[.]νν[.]..	[	.].σε[.]νν[.....].]
(b)	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.
5	]	βασιληα[.]ελεσφορον	[	βασιλῆα [τ]ελεσφόρον
	]	αμφικ[.]νωνεχρησαν	[	ἀμφικ[.]νων ἔχρησαν
	]	υριδαυ. μαδεγεν. οσυνολβ[.	[	.υριδαυ. μαδεγεν. ο σὺν ὄλβω[ι
	]	θεσσαλωνκαιπαντιδαμωι .	[	Θεσσαλῶν και παντὶ δάμωι .

## Fr. 2

]

].ον[.

]τιωιναι[.

]ματαπ[.

Fr. 1 (a), (b) appear to be the top and bottom of the same column. Fr. 2 may well belong to it also but I cannot bring it into any precise relation with the others

Fr. 1 (a) 5 Of τ the left-hand part of the cross-stroke is lost 7 .[, a trace on the edge of the break compatible with the lower left-hand arc of a circle 8 .], the tip of a stroke above the general level followed by the top of an upright; perhaps two letters, e.g. ]α[, represented ].., the tops of two uprights; if ]μ[, only one letter could be inserted between ρ[ and ]μ 9 .], c, a trace level with the tops of the letters ε[, the upper tip of a stroke descending to right, e.g. υ .].[, the upper right-hand arc of a circle followed by the upper end of a stroke descending to right; perhaps ]ν[ most likely

Fr. 1 (b) 3 .], the foot of an upright The letters after κ are much damaged; κεληθ might also perhaps be elicited 4 Of ]επ only the parts on the line 7 The very slight remains of the first letter suggest γ (the foot of the upright and the right-hand end of the cross-stroke), but the surface is damaged and κ may be another possibility Above the line between υ and ρ an upright, apparently in the hand of the text; the head may have been scoured off Between ν and ο first a circle, ο or θ not ε or c, then faint traces suggesting the lower left-hand angle of α or δ

Fr. 2 2 .], perhaps the upper right-hand part of ξ .]., ε or c followed by ε or c 3 .]., the top left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 1 (a) Title. If, as I think there is no room to doubt, the poem is an epinician and the title signifies 'For a victory in the horse-race won by the sons of Aetius', the order of words is unique. That regularly found in the titles of the epinicians of Pindar and Bacchylides is exemplified by 'Ἴερωι Κυρακοσίω κέλητι (Pind. Ol. i), 'I. C. ἵπποις Ὀλύμπια (Bacchyl. 3), and their analogues. An explanation of the peculiarity may be found in the following considerations.

The epinicians of Simonides, unlike those of Pindar, which were arranged by venue, were arranged by event. This appears clearly from the citations of titles, ἐπίνικοι δρομέων (Cf. AO 3, 254, cf. Choerob. in Theod. καν. 1, 220 Hilg.), ἐν πεντάθλοις (Phot. lex. ed. Reitzenstein p. 77 = Suid. in ἀλκυονίδες ἡμέραι = Bekker Anecd. i 377, 27), ἐκ τῶν . . . τεθρίππων (schol. Aristoph. Eq. 405).

But obviously δρομέων and τεθρίππων are not on all fours. The first covers all kinds of foot-race, the second only one of a number of kinds of horse-race. If consistency in the classification was desired, we could infer that under the general heading 'Epinicians for runners' were sub-headings 'For winners of the στάδιον', 'of the δίαυλος', or whatever it might be, and conversely, that the general heading under which winners in the chariot-races or the horse-race appeared would be ἐπίνικοι ἵπποις or the like. However that may be, victories with the κέλης must, like victories with the τέθριππον, have formed one self-contained group. It would, therefore, have been theoretically sufficient for the title of the separate odes in such a group to contain nothing but the name of the winner. But if the event also was specified, it would be natural to place it first, since it was what was common to all the constituents of the group. Titles of the form found here would thus result. But I do not see why the venue (which is unnecessary in the titles of Pindar's Epinicians but generally appears in those of Bacchylides) is omitted.

τοις Αιατίου παισίν: cf. Paus. vi 13, 10 for a similar joint ownership of a race-horse.

The name Αιατίος, though nowhere else preserved in its correct form, is now seen to be due to be restored in the following places: Polyaeus. Strat. viii 44, Charax ap. Steph. Byz. in Δάριον, for Αιατος; Pausan. Attic. ap. Eustath. 331, 20, for Αρατος; App. prov. iii 20, Phot. and Suid. in Θεσσαλῶν κόφιμα, for Αράτιος. In all places the name has a Thessalian ambience.

3 Perhaps Οὐρανίδ[α] K. π., namely Zeus. At Pyth. iii 4 Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου is applied to Cheiron. The mention of Zeus might be an oblique reference to an Olympian or Nemean victory as that of Apollo, below, in conjunction with Pytho, is to a Pythian. I am by no means sure that ουρανιδ[ς] is not on the long side. εὐρύσπα, as at Pind. Pae. vi 134, might be considered.

5 χρυσοφόρμιγξ new; Apollo is χρυσολύρας at Ar. Thesmoph. 315 (not also at Pind. Pae. v 41, as LSJ. say) and his epithet χρυσάροος is sometimes interpreted to mean much the same (v. schol. Il. xv 256): χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Απόλλωνος . . . κτέανον Pyth. i 1.

7 καμαινει: I am not sure of the sense. If no more is lost on the right than I have supplied, καμαινει sc. γενεάν must apparently mean 'points out'. There seems no place for the connotation of cryptic utterance.

λιπαρά . . . Πυθώ: the adjective not uncommonly attached by Pindar to places.

8 αἰ θ' ἵπποδρ[ο]μ[ι]- seems probable.

Fr. 1 (b) 5 seqq. τελεσφόρον: cf. Aesch. Choeph. 663 seqq.

ἔχρησαν is susceptible of three interpretations: 'they wanted', i.e. ἔχρη<ι>σαν, 'they lent', or 'they pronounced'. The last might produce a clause formally parallel to Pyth. iv 6 χρῆσεν οἰκιστῆρα . . . καρποφόρον Διβύας, but I can adduce no other instance of a verb meaning 'to give an oracle' having the subject in the plural. ἔχρησαν, ἔχρησαν avoid this difficulty but do not, on other grounds, appear to be probable articulations.

.υριδαν or .υ'ριδαν looks like a patronymic. Πυρρ- would not be unexpected in Thessaly, but I find nothing suitable on record and I am not sure that π could be accepted as a reading. γένοιτο seems hardly avoidable but I do not see how it can be reconciled with the traces.

	Fr. 3	
Col. i	Col. ii	
		]π.[
		]αν[
		]μάι[
		]μεμ[
		]ράϊτα[ 5
		]χμα[
		]ηλθ.[
		]α[

Fr. 3 Col. ii 1 ] .[, the lower left-hand arc of a circle 7 ] .[, the left-hand arc of a circle

	Fr. 4	
	]	[ ] [
		]λυφορβον [
		] [
		]γκρο... [
5		]καλλι'... [
		]γτατερ [
		]ν [
		] [
		]ενοο.[
		] [
		] [
		] [
		] [

Fr. 4 4 seq. The ends of the lines are so rubbed that only scattered spots remain; κρονον (the κ overwritten and perhaps altered or deleted) and καλλιέρει are compatible with the traces Above the line the top half of a circle, e.g. an interlinear ο 9 ] .[, the foot of an upright

Fr. 4 2 πο]λύφορβον.  
5 If ]καλλιέρει, presumably 3rd sing. impf. act. most likely.

Fr. 5	Fr. 6
]	]υφελ[
]ενο[	

Fr. 6 ] .[, the foot of an upright and the right-hand end of a cross-stroke; τ probable

2432. SIMONIDES?

An obvious ground for suggesting the ascription to Simonides of the following piece is the strong similarity of the sentiments expressed in ll. 6 seqq. to those found in the poem to Scopas partly preserved in Plato's *Protagoras*. But I am uncertain what weight to attach to this. Poets do not repeat only themselves, and generalities of the same kind as are contained in ll. 6 seqq., and also in ll. 1 seqq., may be expected to appear in any of the composers of choral lyric. Some slight indications pointing specifically towards Simonides or at least away from Pindar or Bacchylides are adduced in the notes on ll. 1, 6, and 9. The fact alluded to in the note on l. 7 may be thought to have some evidential value in the contrary direction, and the metre certainly seems to be less dactylic and more trochaic than those found in ancient quotations from this author.

The hand is a well-executed rounded upright uncial rather larger than the common and may be compared with P. Ryl. 44, than which I suppose it to be somewhat later. The lection signs are in a greyer ink than the text and must be supposed due to a different pen.

] καλονκρινειτότ' αϊσχρον· εϊδε [   
 ] α ορεΐτι κάθυρο [ ] τόμα [   
 ] φερ[ ] ν, ομενκαπνοσατελής· οδ· [   
 ] σοουμιανετ[ ] . [   
 5 ] . . . ε[ ] απακρατής [   
 ] λιγοϊσάρετ' άνεδακνε [   
 ] ελος· ουγαρελαφρονεσθλ [   
 ] αραέκονταν· βιαται [   
 ] δοσαμάχητονηδολοπλ [   
 10 ] γασθενησούστροσαφροδιτ [   
 ] θαλόιτεφιλονικια [   
 ] εμηδιαϊώνόσϊάν [   
 ] θεϊνκελευθον [   
 ] οεστοδυνατον [   
 15 ] γκυλαν [   
 ] δικαιοσ [   
 ] υθυσαπο [   
 ] θ'οντι τ [   
 ] ντρο [   
 20 ] α [   
 ] ο [

1 ], the bottom arc of ε or σ 2 ], the base of a circle followed by the lower end of a curved stroke descending from left; not prima facie to be combined as μ 3 ], the left-hand arc of a circle 4 ], the top of an upright 5 ], . . . , the first two letters are triangular and either might be α or λ (not δ); of the third only a couple of dots remain but they, too, suit a triangular letter; of the fourth what is left suggests the right-hand arc of the lower loop of β (but see comm.) If a letter is lost between ε and α, it can be only ι (or ρ?) 6 ], a trace suggesting the right-hand arc of a circle Of the second ι only a trace of the tip Besides the presumed ~ there is what looks like a rather flat ' to their right 8 Between ν and β a trace of the tip of an upright followed by the upper end of a stroke descending to right and a trace of the tip of an upright 11 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters, with the foot of an upright hooked to right on the line below it; τ, as written in l. 18, acceptable 14 ], a dot below the level of the tops of the letters but not a stop 16 ], the lower left-hand arc of circle; above it a trace of interlinear ink 18 Between θ and ο the left-hand half of a circle 19 ], the left-hand half of a circle 19 ], a dot level with the tops of the letters 20 ], the bottom left-hand arc of a circle 21 ], γ or τ

τό τ]ε καλόν κρίνει τό τ' αϊσχρόν· εϊ δέ   
 . . . (.) . . αγορεΐ τις άθυρον [ς]τόμα   
 . . . ] φέρ[ω]ν, ό μέν καπνός άτελής, ό δέ [   
 χρυ]σός ού μαινετ[α]ι   
 5 . . ] άλάθε[ι]α παγκρατής   
 . . . ] βλίγοις άρεταν έδωκενε [   
 . . . ] ελος, ού γάρ ελαφρόν έσθλ[όν] έμμεν   
 η γ]άρ άέκοντά νιν βιαται   
 κέρ]δος άμάχητον η δολοπλ[όκου]   
 10 με]γασθενής ούστροσ Αφροδίτ[α]ς   
 . . ] θαλοί τε φιλονικια   
 . . δ]έ μη δι' αϊώνος όσϊάν   
 ] θεϊν κέλευθον   
 ] ος ές τό δυνατόν [   
 15 ] αγκυλαν [   
 ] δικαιοσ [   
 ε]υθυσ απο [   
 ] θέοντι τρ [   
 ] ντρο [   
 20 ] α [   
 ] ο [

1 τ]ε . . . τε: for the double conjunction in such sentences cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 927 *δον τό τ' άρχειν και τό δουλεύειν δίχα*, Soph. *OC* 808 *χωρίς τό τ' εϊπεϊν πολλά και τά καιρια*, Eur. *Alc.* 528 *χωρίς τό τ' εϊναι και τό μη νομίζεται*.

*καλόν . . . αϊσχρόν*: this antithesis also at Simon. fr. 5 (Plato *Protag.* 346 c) and *αϊσχρόν* again in the same piece (ibid. 345 d). *αϊσχρόν* is not found in Bacchylides and only once in Pindar (*Isth.* vii 22), in the comparative, with the colourless meaning 'not as good as'. The example in P. Berl. 13411 ('Pind.' *Pae.* xiii (b) 6) may or may not falsify this statistic.

2 seqq. I take the general sense required to be: if a good man is talked against, his reputation is not affected (cf. Bacchyl. xiii 199-209). The first part of the verb ending in *-αγορεΐ* may be supposed to have contained either the notion of 'disparagement' or that of 'triviality', according to the precise connotation of *καπνός*.

*άθυρον στόμα*: for parallels see Blaydes on Aristoph. *Frogs* 838.

I should guess *περιφέρων δια]* looks a shade too short.

'(The) smoke is ineffectual and (the) gold is not sullied', i.e. his words do not succeed in tarnishing the reputation of the person against whom they are directed. It is natural to compare *Nem.* i 24 *λέλογχε δέ μεμφομένοις έσλοδς υδωρ καπνώι φέρειν αντίον*, which I take undoubtedly to mean, 'he has got good men to bring against detractors, water against smoke'. As Plutarch says, fr. 23, 2, *τόν φθόνον ένιοι τώι καπνώι εικάζουσι. πολλός γάρ έν τοίς άρχομένοις ών, όταν εκλάμψωσιν, άφανίζεται*, 'smoke' may here symbolize envy. I do not think it is certain. *καπνός* is applied to what is trifling (instances in Blaydes on Aristoph. *Clouds* 320), and no more than 'chatter' need be connoted.

4 I am uncertain whether it is better to put a comma or, with the manuscript, a full stop at the end of this verse.

5 ἀ δ' ἀλάθεια (or Ἀλάθεια) παγκρατής: cf. Bacchyl. fr. 14 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀρετὰν σοφία τε παγκρατής τ' ἐλέγχει ἀλάθεια. Compare also Bacchyl. xiii 204 seq. and contrast Simon. fr. 76. I take the 'lower loop of β' (see app. crit.) as the lower right-hand quadrant of θ with the right-hand end of the cross-stroke touching its upper extremity.

6 seq. ἀλλ' ὀλίγοις . . . τέλος: the meaning required seems clearly to be: it is accorded to few to be consistently virtuous, the main theme of Simon. fr. 5. The form of the sentence recalls Bacchyl. fr. 25 and more distantly Pind. *Nem.* iv 41 seq. The alternative accentuations appear to indicate a hesitation between ἔδωκεν ἀρετὰν and ἔδωκεν ἀρετᾶν, in regard to the second of which it may be remarked (i) that the true dialectal vocalization and accentuation would presumably have been ἀρετῆν, and (ii) that ἀρετᾶω in Homer means 'prosper', not 'be virtuous'. But to envisage a sentence in which there could have been hesitation between the accusative singular and the genitive plural of ἀρετή is a less probable hypothesis.

I am in doubt about the subject of ἔδωκε. ἄναξ Ἀλάθεια is called by Pindar, fr. 205, ἀρχὰ μεγάλα ἀρετᾶς, but 'truth' here is used with reference to what is said about a man's character and it does not seem natural to assert that this grants or withholds consistency in virtue. There is, I should judge, no possibility that θεός (followed by ἐς τέλος) was written at the end of l. 6.

ὀλίγοις, 'few': Pindar prefers παῖροι, Bacchylides also παῖροι βροτῶν (θνατῶν), neither has ὀλίγοι.

7 The saw of Pittacus. It is remarkable, if ἔμμεν (or ἔμμεναι) is rightly supplied and if this piece is Simonidean, that none of the interlocutors in the *Protagoras* called attention to the relevance of this verse to the argument developed in 339 seqq.

8 Or ἡ γὰρ . . . ἡ, Pind. *Pylh.* vi 1, Bacchyl. x 39.

ἀέκοντα: πάντα δ' ἐπαίνημι . . . ἔκων δεσις ἐρδην μηδὲν αἰσχρόν Simon. fr. 5 (*Protag.* 345 d).

νιν: the Doric form to be expected, but it may be noted that the quotations of Simonides (e.g. fr. 5, 12, 36, 58) would lead one to infer that in his *paradosis* the Ionic form μιν was found not infrequently, as it sometimes is in that of Pindar and once in that of Bacchylides.

The reference of νιν is to the subject of ἔμμεν.

8 seq. βιάται κέρδος: φρένα καὶ πυκινὰν | κέρδος ἀνθρώπων βιάται Bacchyl. fr. 1.

ἀμάχητον: rare (only Soph. *Philocl.* 198?) for the usual ἀμαχον.

9 seq. δολοπλοκῶν . . . Ἀφροδίτας: cf. *Com.* a 1 App., lyr. adesp. 129, 2378, 7.

Pindar and Bacchylides have no compounds of δόλος, Simonides (fr. 43) is credited with δολόμηδες and δολομηχάνωι.

οἰστρος and its derivatives are applied to any frenzy but not commonly in the best period to that of love, as at Eur. *Hipp.* 1300 and here.

11 . . . θάλοι: I can make no guess at this adjective. None of the few known ending in -θαλοι or -θηλοι can be reconciled with the room available, the extant traces, or the meaning to be presumed. αἰθαλοι seems ruled out.

12 seqq. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general tenor of these verses was: if a man cannot keep a righteous course throughout his life, still, if he is as good as he can be, he may be termed virtuous. The middle stop at the end of l. 13, which might be taken to mark the end of a sentence, will then mark the end of the protasis.

εἰ δ' well suits the space to be inferred from the supplements in ll. 4, 9, 10.

The first hand wrote -νοσι- (for -νοσοι-), a second added the rough breathing over ο, a third (unless it is the first again) inserted οσ above the line after δε instead of before it and provided ι with an acute accent which looks as if it were growing out of his c. δε' αἰώνος 'his life through' (cf. Soph. *Electr.* 1024); ὄσιαν . . . κέλευθον 'the path of righteousness' (cf. Pind. *Nem.* viii 35, Bacchyl. x 36 seq.); ἐλθεῖν may be adequate, if -εῖν be admissible for -έν, or θεῖν itself is perhaps not to be ruled out.

ἐς τὸ δυνατόν 'as far as possible', as e.g. Hdt. iii 24; ἐς δύναμιν is also said. ]ος, on my construction, may be the end of an adjective equivalent to 'good' and δίκαιος, l. 16, the predicate of the apodosis.

15 ἀγκυλᾶν: if, as seems not improbable, metaphorically 'not straightforward', a very early instance (if Simonidean) of this sense, though implied, according to one ancient view, in the first part of the Homeric and Hesiodic ἀγκυλομήτης.

## 2433. LABEL

A roughly rectangular piece of papyrus about 2½ inches wide and 1 inch high inscribed in a hand of the second century. I see no sign of attachment to a roll. For similar objects see 301, 1091, 2396.

] <i>σιμωνιδειων</i> [	<i>Σιμωνιδειων</i>
] $\frac{\psi}{\pi}$ [	<i>ὑπ(όμνημα)</i>
] [	

I presume that this scrap of papyrus refers to the contents of a manuscript to which it was attached but I can come to no satisfactory conclusion about what these were. It would be expected that a commentary on poems of Simonides would be designated *Σιμωνιδου μελων υπομνημα*, or perhaps more probably naming the specific class of poem, as *Σιμωνιδου* (say) *Θρηνων υπομνημα*. *Σιμωνιδια* would naturally be taken to mean 'sayings of', 'passages from' Simonides, or something of this sort. I cannot judge how likely it is that a commentary on such words would have been composed.

## 2434. COMMENTARY ON LYRIC VERSES (?SIMONIDES)

The first of the following fragments, which alone is of sufficient extent to warrant the expression of an opinion, seem sclearly to contain part of a commentary of considerable amplitude on a lyrical composition. There is no certainty, that I see, that it was choral, not dramatic, lyric. The suggestion that it may have been a composition of Simonides depends on no more than a guess about the interpretation of an incomplete passage which may reasonably be supposed to have contained his name. Not that we should have been much better off, if the authorship were assured. There are enough places, in what is preserved, where there is ambiguity of articulation in respect both of groups of letters and of groups of words, to make attempts to arrive at even the general meaning of what is lost more than ordinarily unhelpful, and even if they were successful, I am doubtful whether more than disjointed members of the poetical text to which the commentator is referring would be recovered. In the most general terms it may be said that the action of mourners over some human sacrifice seems to be what is being explained. The details are consistent with the story of Iphigeneia but insufficient to make it certainly recognizable. The text is written in a fairly small sloping hand, a practised informal uncial with a sprinkling of cursive forms, to be assigned, I suppose, to the late second century. Of the signs used in commentaries to articulate the text only the paragraphus and ἔκθεσις are found in

fr. 1 (a)+(b). There seems to have been no occasion for the use of the blank space, found in fr. 4 and 7. The purpose of the *ὀβελός περιεστγυμένος* opposite fr. 1 (a) 3-4 is as obscure here as elsewhere.

## Fr. 1 (a)

<p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>5 ]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>10 ]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>15 ]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>20 ]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>25 ]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p> <p>30 ]</p>	<p>φρικωκυτο[</p> <p>τουτωιοσιμ[</p> <p>ν ιτοπεριτου[</p> <p>÷ νευλογωσι[</p> <p>ουεθρηγου[</p> <p>εοικεν δαιμο[</p> <p>[ ] ετοιμοιοτ[ ]....</p> <p>ολουνημημ[ ] ενοι</p> <p>τορησιπεριτο[ ]..</p> <p>τηνσφαζομεν[ ]ν</p> <p>τουλαουαι[ ]ν</p> <p>[ ] ιτεπιτοενα[ ] [ ] εξ</p> <p>] αλλαγημητριδενπουδεν..</p> <p>] ανηττηθειηλυπηαναιρου</p> <p>] μεωνδετανπαι[ ] οι</p> <p>] μορστεναζεινφερεται[ ] αλ</p> <p>] ληγραφημοιδετισαμφ....</p> <p>] πανσαφησαποτηςπροκειμ[</p> <p>] εξηγησεωσπαρτηρεινδ[</p> <p>] σπεπλασταιολογασαν</p> <p>] γαρενμυκαναισιδαν</p> <p>] τασευεκωκυτονηκο</p> <p>] πεινοιδεγεκωκυροντες</p> <p>] πρασσοτιουχιαναιρε</p> <p>] ληλλαεπιτιμητου</p> <p>] υτουτοδεαυτοσηθικως</p> <p>] εντη[ ] αναφωνησειχηρη</p> <p>] α[ ] οτισαμφατισεσται</p> <p>] ε. οι βαρειαλ..</p> <p>] traces[</p>	<p>φρικωκυτο[</p> <p>τούτωι ὁ Σιμω[νίδης</p> <p>νοιτο περὶ του[</p> <p>ν εὐλόγως η[</p> <p>τον ἐθρήνου[</p> <p>εοικεν δαιμον[</p> <p>[ ] ετοιμοι οτ[ ] ρτο</p> <p>ὄλον συνημη[εν- αν] γένοι-</p> <p>το ῥῆσις περὶ το[ ]..</p> <p>την σφαζομεν[ ]ν</p> <p>τὸν λαὸν αὖει[ ]ν</p> <p>ιτ' ἐπὶ τὸ ενα[ ] [ ] εξ-</p> <p>αλλαγῆι. μητρὶ δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενός</p> <p>ἂν ἠττηθείη ἢ λύπη, ἀναιρου-</p> <p>μένων δὲ τῶν παί[δων ἐ] τοῖ-</p> <p>μον στενάζειν. φέρεται [ ] ἀλ-</p> <p>λη γραφή· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἀμφα....</p> <p>πάνυ σαφῆς ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμ[έ-</p> <p>νης] ἐξηγήσεως. παρατηρεῖν δ[</p> <p>] σπέπλασται ὁ λόγος αὐ</p> <p>] γὰρ ἐν Μυκάναισιδαν</p> <p>] τασεὺε κωκυτὸν ἦκο</p> <p>] πεινοὶ δὲ γε κωκύοντες</p> <p>ἐ] πρασσον ὅτι οὐχὶ ἀναιρε-</p> <p>] ἢ ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τιμῆι του</p> <p>] υτουτοδε αὐτὸ ἠθικῶς</p> <p>] εν τῆ[ι] ἀναφωνῆσει χρη</p> <p>] α[ ] το τίς ἀμφατις ἔσται</p> <p>] ε. οι βαρειαλαμ</p> <p>] traces[</p>
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## Fr. 1 (a) There is a joint near the left-hand edge of the column

1 [ ] the start of a stroke rising to right; ν acceptable 2 Of φ[ only the bottom left-hand arc of the left-hand side 3 νφ: of φ only the base 3 seqq. See addendum 4 ν: perhaps ων or ων, but either anomalous 5 Of τ the left-hand part of the cross-stroke has vanished, but γ less probable 7 [ ] perhaps the right-hand stroke of υ, but υ not impossible [ ] the left-hand side of an ellipse, off the line Perhaps ]α but the letter is represented only by a short stroke rising to right, nearly level with the top of ρ 9 [ ] traces on the line followed by the lower part of an upright descending into ν, l. 10. Probably ι or ρ After a blank space sufficient for one letter, a trace level with the tops of the letters 11 α damaged, but not, I think, ε [ ] the start of a stroke rising to right 12 [ ] perhaps a single η acceptable, though the top of the first upright appears to lean unusually far over to right [ ] a dot on the line [ ] the top of a tall upright; ι likely 17 φσι is compatible with the ink, though of τ only the extreme lower ends remain, but there follow three sloping strokes, a short one, ascending to right from the line, presumably part of a letter, between two longer and parallel, the upper in the interlinear space, the lower resembling the symbol for εστι 19 [ ] apparently the lower left-hand arc of a circle touching δ 25 ]ν represented only by the right-hand stroke, though part of the left-hand ought to be visible. It may be concealed by the tail of ρ in l. 24 28 [ ] a trace of a nearly horizontal stroke touching the top of the loop of α I am not sure whether there is not room for ι between α and ]τ 29 Before ε the right-hand end of the cross-stroke of γ, τ, or the like, after ε prima facie γ but perhaps τ or even ε intended αι represented only by the bottom of the loop of α and the top of a tall ι

## Fr. 1 (b)

]

] δαμμ[

] απηγ[

] ε.[

] Κ[ ] [ ] [ ]

5 ] α.[

] επει.[

] εθα.[

] ονι.[

Fr. 1 (b) From the general appearance of the back I think it likely that this scrap contains the beginnings of lines of the same column as fr. 1 (a). This hypothesis could not be verified by means of cross-fibres, since the right-hand edge would coincide with the joint in fr. 1 (a) mentioned above. For a suggestion about its relation to fr. 1 (a) see the commentary on fr. 1 (a) 23 seqq.

4 [ ] the lower left-hand arc of a circle compatible with α, ο, ω, followed by the lower end of a stroke descending well below the line 5 Before α the lower end of a stroke descending from left; after α the lower end of an upright descending nearly into the next line, at an interval suggesting φ or ψ rather than ι or ρ 6 [ ] a slightly concave upright, perhaps κ 8 [ ] the edge of an upright stroke, perhaps slightly convex

Fr. 1 (a) 1 The paragraphus must be supposed to indicate a stop within the line. Since it is not followed by *ἐκθεσις*, as in fr. 1 (b) 4 seqq., it does not indicate a new lemma, and the repetition at intervals throughout ll. 1-28 of the same words or ideas makes it reasonably certain that these lines are a comment on a single lemma, which must have been of considerable extent to accommodate the scraps of verse quoted and the verses paraphrased.

2 I do not think it need be doubted that the name of Simonides is to be recognized. That it occurred in the nominative is less certain, but if so, there is a fair chance that the commentator is referring to the author of the piece on which he is commenting. For instance, the general sense might be: in so writing Simonides could be referring to such-and-such a practice (say, *ἀνσημαίνοι τὸ περὶ τοῦ*). But it is not difficult to think of other possibilities.

7 There is a temptation to see here *στεναζ-* on the pattern of *ἐτοιμον στεναζειν* at 15 seq., but I do not think there is any legitimate possibility of so interpreting the ink. Nevertheless, it is not easy (or necessary) to believe that there is no relation between *ετοιμοι οτ.* [ . . . *φασζομεν* . . . *τον λαον αυει* [ in 7-11 and *ἀναιρουμένων δὲ τῶν παιδων ἐτοιμον στενάζειν* in 14 seqq.

7 seq. Perhaps γὰρ τὸ δλον 'the sense' or 'the point' of a portion of the text, as frequently in commentaries. *συνάπτειν* also frequent in commentaries, 'to take one thing with another', 'to join in sense one word or phrase with another'.

11 *λαὸν αὐει* [ can hardly be other than a part of the lemma, or at least a paraphrase using words from the lemma, but how it came in does not appear from the paraphrase in 13 seqq. I call attention to the end of l. 21, *-αδαυ*, and the mysterious *ἵτασευ* in l. 22 without being able to guess whether they have any relevance.

12 seq. Apparently ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνω[τῖον . . . ἐξαλλαγῆ. I suspect that ἡ τε ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον . . . ἐξαλλαγῆ was intended, but can offer no supplement to recommend it. Presumably what would have been meant is that something was conveyed in terms of its opposite.

15 seq. *ἐτοιμον* (sc. *ἐστι*) *στενάζειν*, though a construction found in prose, looks to me here as if it had been picked up from the lemma.

16 seqq. I suppose: *φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλη γραφή* 'a variant reading is found' . . . *πάνυ σαφῆς ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ἐξηγήσεως* 'readily comprehensible in the light of the present exposition'. Of the alternative readings a part of one is in l. 28 *τίς ἀμφατις ἔσται*; the other, in l. 17, appears to differ in ending with (*εστι*) instead of *εσται* and perhaps also in having a different ending to the word beginning with *ἀμφα-*. There is no particular reason to suppose that it further differed in having *ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς* instead of *τίς* . . . ; But it may have done so.

19 seq. I suppose something like: *παρατηρεῖν δὲ δεῖ ὅτι < >ως πέπλασται ὁ λόγος*, 'it must be observed that the sentence has been given a . . . form'. Perhaps, on comparison with l. 26, ἠθικῶς πέπλασται.

21 seq. ἐν Μυκάναισιδαν] . . . *ἵτασευ κωκυτόν* at least, and perhaps more on either side, must be taken to be elements of the lemma. In *ἵτασευ* I can recognize nothing but *σευε*, the third person singular of the aorist—the context seems to make the present imperative unsuitable—of *σεύω*, but that *σευε κωκυτόν* is a possible expression 'sent out a violent wailing', I cannot, on the strength of such evidence as I have been able to find, believe. [I judge LSJ to have misinterpreted *διώκειν* both in Simon. fr. 29 and Pratin. fr. 5.]

23 seqq. I take the articulation to be *ἵπειν. οἱ δὲ γε . . .*. The wailers were acting as they were because . . . . If I am right in placing fr. 1 (b) to the left of ll. 26 seqq., the resulting text runs as follows:

ἵπρασσονοτιουχιαναιρε  
ἵνηλλαεπιτιμητου  
δαμ[ ἵντουτοδευαυτοθητικως  
απηλ[ ἵεντη[ ἵαναφωνησειχηρη  
ς.[ ἵα[ ἵτοτισαμφατισεσται  
κ.[ ἵε.οιβαρειαλαμ  
α.[ κτλ.

Of this there might be made: *ὅτι οὐχὶ ἀνάρεσις φαίλη ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τιμῆ τοῦ δαιμονίου. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ ἠθικῶς ἀπήγγειλεν τῆ ἀναφωνήσει χρησάμενος . . .*, ' . . . because it is not a killing of no consequence but done to honour a divine being. This too the poet has described expressively by the use of the exclamation . . . (*ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἀμφατις ἔσται*;' But, among other difficulties, I am at a loss to account for the word or words between the supposed *χρησάμενος* and *τίς* and to attach any meaning, or indeed any derivation, to the noun *ἀμφατις*. That it should be equated with *ἀναφώνησις*, even if there were any *ἀνάφημι*, which there is not, is out of the question.

29 seq. ] *ε τοι βαρεῖα λαίλαψ* would be a further consequence of the combination of the two fragments, not unattractive, though the metaphorical use of *λαίλαψ* appears otherwise not to be attested in an early writer.

[Addendum to fr. 1 (a) 3-7 and fr. 2. In the course of revision I have found the attachment of these. Fr. 1 (a) 3 seqq. now run:

ν.ιτοπεριτου[. ]ου[  
.νευλογωσχηπαρ. ]  
5 .ονεθρηγνονεπιω[  
εοικενδαιμονι[  
[ ] .ετοιμοιστ. . . [.] ]

and fr. 2 becomes a vacant number.

I think I must now accept *στενα[ζ]ε[ω]* in l. 7, though both *σ* before and *ε* after the *τ* are anomalous in appearance.]

## Fr. 2

(See Addendum to fr. 1 (a) and (b))

. . .  
]. . [ ]  
]παρ. . [ ]  
]επιρ. [ ]  
]. νι. [ ]  
5 ] . . [.] [ ]

## Fr. 3

. . .  
]εκ. [ ]  
]ανταιμ[ ]  
]ηγγεγον[ ]

Fr. 2 The right-hand side of ll. 3-4 and l. 5 rubbed

1 A small loop, open upwards, on the line, followed by the start of a stroke rising to right  
2 After *ρ* the foot of an upright 5 ] . . , the top of an upright, followed by traces suggesting a loop open to right

Fr. 4-7, though apparently written by the same copyist as fr. 1-3, display easily apprehensible differences from those and from one another. In fr. 4-5 the writing is slightly thicker, larger, and looser than in fr. 1-3, 6. Fr. 5-7 have a second *υ* as well as the V-shaped letter used consistently in fr. 1. There are other slight variations more easily seen (v. facs.) than described. There is no guarantee that all are from one MS.

## Fr. 4

]υκαι.[  
 ]. γραφ[  
 ]αφορια.[  
 ]ηρεθηκ[  
 5 ]εν[  
 ]ωηε.[  
 ]φανω[  
 ]. οντι.[  
 ]ολογοε.[

**Fr. 4** 1 ], on the line apparently the left-hand tip of a loop as of α 2 ], a trace level with the tops of the letters 3 ], a trace just off the line 5 ], a dot on the line 6 ], a stroke leaning to right, π perhaps likeliest, but ν not ruled out 8 ], the lower part of a stroke descending from left, presumably λ but thicker than usual and otherwise anomalous ], a slightly concave upright; κ, μ, and other letters possible

## Fr. 5

]εστα[  
 ]. .[ ]ενκ[  
 ]ταδεκαι[  
 ]κλεχεω[  
 5 ]νιγννα.[  
 ]. ουκατε.[  
 ]. αιεκτο.[  
 ]. ναι . . ι.[  
 ]ωτουκατ[  
 10 ]ιθοςφω.[

**Fr. 5** 2 ], on the line a hook open to right, e.g. ε, ς, followed by the start of a stroke rising to right, possibly μ, in which case no whole letter is missing 5 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the angle of ν 6 ], γ or the right-hand parts of τ ], the start of a stroke rising to right 7 ], the top of an upright ], the upper part of a stroke leaning slightly to left; ι or υ possible 8 Stripped. The traces may be differently combined. The first ι might be ρ, though there is now no trace of the loop. I can make nothing of the ink between ι and ι, which may represent only one letter, or at the end of the line, which looks like an undotted printed question-mark 10 ], a trace on the line and another vertically over it

## Fr. 6

].[  
 ]. ουτω[  
 ]αγεγ[  
 ]. ουτε[  
 5 ]υρυχορ[  
 ]αναρ[  
 ].[

**Fr. 6** The lines are slightly wider apart 2 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke slightly above the tops of the letters, neither γ, τ, nor a paragraphus suggested 4 ], the right-hand edge of an upright 7 A small interlinear letter or letters; β looks like one possibility

## Fr. 7

]δρονκ[  
 ]. υπαρχ[  
 ]ωνογ[  
 ]παραλλαε[  
 5 ]παραμαε.[  
 ]. οιπροφθ[  
 ]νεκεινον.[

**Fr. 7** 2 ], a slightly convex upright, ν acceptable, η perhaps not ruled out 5 ], on the line apparently the left-hand end of a loop, perhaps α 6 ], γ or τ

**Fr. 7** Ll. 4 seq. appear to contain a variant reading παραλλαε[ον, παρα μαε(ον). But the scansion is not the same in both and the appearance may well be illusory.





## 2435. ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM?

14.5 × 26 cm.

Early first century Plates

The recto of this papyrus contains one complete column of writing and traces of a succeeding one, and is in a fairly legible condition except at three places where it has been folded horizontally in antiquity. Initial letters and sometimes the last few letters of lines are lost. The hand is a medium-sized, rather roughly formed, capital, midway in style between cursive and literary. Characteristic letters are  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\xi$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\tau$ . The two strokes from which  $\kappa$  is formed often do not touch,  $\mu$  is deep and made in three strokes,  $\epsilon$  is written with a forward slant, usually in two bold half-ellipses; like  $\alpha$  it forms a ligature with  $\nu$  readily paralleled in documents of the early first century A.D. (e.g. P. Merton 8 of A.D. 3). Among dated parallels for the hand one may cite BGU 1114 of 5 B.C. (plate in *New Pal. Soc.* i 176), PSI 1099 of 5 B.C. (Norsa, *Scr. Doc.* i 10), 744 of 1 B.C. (*Greece and Rome* xxi (1952), Pl. 124), and P. Lond. 2553 of A.D. 5/6 (*New Pal. Soc.* ii 136a). The hand should be assigned to the first part of the first century A.D. It is certainly not later than A.D. 50, and is no doubt almost contemporary with the events narrated which belong to A.D. 18/19. In view of the subject-matter it is interesting to note a general similarity in character between this handwriting and that of PSI 1160. The scribe marks punctuation usually by a space in the line, probably coupled with a marginal paragraphus (so l. 3); once (l. 5) he uses a middle stop. He does not write hiatus (ll. 1, 4, 17), but is capricious in the insertion of  $\iota$  adscript. Vowel confusions and itacistic errors abound, and the scribe frequently admits vulgar intrusive  $\iota$  (e.g.  $\psi\eta\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ , neuter plural) and other vulgar spellings, and makes occasional grammatical errors. Though it is written with much less care, the verso is probably the work of the same scribe. The forms of letters such as  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\xi$  are the same, and the same characteristic errors such as  $\psi\eta\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$  recur. The copying is even more slipshod than on the recto, and a number of passages can only be understood with the help of emendation. Recovery of the text on the verso is in any case more difficult than that of the recto. The vertical fibres are badly distorted, there are patches of discoloration, and the ink is much faded; and loss of a strip on the left means that about 5-6 initial letters are missing throughout the single surviving column.

The contents of the recto are occupied with a speech, punctuated by applause, made by an unnamed imperator to the citizens of Alexandria. After receiving two honorary decrees from the exegetes, he requests his audience to postpone its cheering until his investigations are concluded. He then explains that he has been sent by his father to settle the overseas provinces: though his travels entail some personal cost to himself, above all by separating him from his family, the hardships are compensated by the opportunity of seeing the dazzling city of Alexandria and by the warmth of his reception.

The choice for the identity of the unnamed imperator lies between two persons only: Gaius Caesar, son of Agrippa, natural grandson and also adopted son of Augustus,

and Germanicus Caesar, son of Nero Claudius Drusus and nephew of the emperor Tiberius, who had adopted him as son in A.D. 5 on the orders of Augustus. Both these two men received special powers direct from the emperor, and both were entrusted with a mission to the East, the former in 1 B.C. when on the way to Syria, the latter in A.D. 18, when he passed the winter in Egypt. Both fulfil the family conditions—they possess those relatives from whose embrace they were torn (l. 12): for Gaius Caesar the father would be Augustus, the grandmother Livia, mother Iulia, brothers and sisters Lucius, Iulia, Agrippina (the future wife of Germanicus), Agrippa Postumus; in the case of Germanicus, the father would be Tiberius, grandmother Livia, mother Antonia minor, brother and sister Livilla and Claudius (the future emperor). But in the case of Gaius Caesar no children are known, and indeed it is impossible that there should have been any, for Gaius was not married until the very moment of his departure for the East, three months or so before his arrival in Alexandria. But Germanicus already had a numerous family: Nero, Drusus, Gaius (the future emperor), Agrippa, Drusilla, Livilla (born on his travels in A.D. 18). Moreover, his wife, the elder Agrippina, accompanied him on this voyage to the East, as appears from the narrative in Tac. *Ann.* ii 72, and this fact agrees with the absence of the word  $\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$  in our text. Equally in favour of Germanicus is the appeal in l. 22 to 'the services of my grandfather Augustus and my father': it is hardly conceivable that Gaius could have spoken of Augustus in this way. The only possible conclusion is that the imperator is Germanicus Caesar.

Apart from giving what is no doubt the correct official designation of Germanicus' command (ll. 9-10 note), the papyrus furnishes a lively picture of Germanicus' personality and an interesting commentary on Tac. *Ann.* ii 59. Germanicus' Egyptian visit has already left a mark among the papyri in an ostrakon dated 26th Jan. A.D. 19 (*W. Chr.* 413), a receipt for requisitions made in preparation for his visit to the Thebaid, and in two decrees issued by him surviving in a well-known Berlin Papyrus (SB Berlin 1911, 794 f.), in one of which he forbids government officers to make requisitions in his name, while in the second he refuses to accept divine honours. The new text seems to be an account of the very moment of his arrival in Alexandria. He is given two decrees, no doubt passed by the Greek *gerousia* of the city; he asks for applause to be postponed till he has answered the questions put to him, and explains the nature of his mission. It never occurs to him that he has no right to enter Egypt, indeed he seems to think that the very terms of his special command require him to come: in the papyrus this explanation has a sincerer ring than Tacitus' words *cura provinciae praetendebatur* would suggest. But then Tacitus' main purpose was to exploit the contrast between the grizzled, dissimulating emperor, aware of all the *arcana imperii*, and his headstrong but winsome nephew. Germanicus is certainly presented as attractive and straightforward in the papyrus. The monotonous repetition of his  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  seems to indicate that he is improvising his speech. Perhaps he did not foresee the warmth of his reception and had no reply prepared. Certainly the

reference to the hardships of travelling and family separation reads oddly coming from the victor of the German campaigns, a man now in his thirties. But he knew well how to please his audience by praising their famous city, and above all their founder, and by hinting at the community of interest between the Alexandrians and the imperial house. In a genuine surge of emotion he seems not to have maintained that reserved and distant attitude that was to be expected of a Roman and kinsman of the Emperor. As for his welcome, it is not the mob alone that cheers him: the reception committee includes the exeges, the principal magistrate of the Greek community, and the members of some body that can pass honorary decrees.

The text on the verso is also intimately connected with the relations between Rome and Alexandria. It offers in correct official form the minutes of an audience before Augustus in Rome (that is, at a date prior to the events recorded on the recto) given to ambassadors from Alexandria. The single surviving column opens with what appears to be a file reference, and the protocol recording the date and place of the audience, and those who sat in consilium with Augustus, namely of the imperial house Tiberius Caesar and Drusus, Tiberius' son, and six other named persons. Their names are not fully recoverable, but five of them seem to be unknown. Then a certain Alexander, presumably the first speaker for the delegation, presented decrees and spoke, perhaps doing no more than conciliating the audience's goodwill; he is followed by a second speaker, Timoxenus, who makes some request of the emperor, the nature of which can only be guessed at, and then the text breaks off.

The date, given as the 42nd regnal year of Augustus (= A.D. 12/13), can perhaps be narrowed down to the months between 1st Jan. and 29th Aug. A.D. 13. Had it been autumn A.D. 12 Germanicus, both as consul and as third family member of the council, would have been expected to be present, while in 13 he was away in Gaul. The body that gives the audience can no doubt be regarded as in some sense a committee of the Senate, and its meeting place is recorded for other embassies and indeed is probably that specified for the Senate itself in the tabula Hebana (ll. 31-32 n.). Perhaps it is not going too far to see in the present body the select council of 20 which Dio Cassius lvi 28 says was organized by Augustus in the year A.D. 12 to help relieve the strain on the 74-year-old emperor. Its members consisted of Augustus himself, Tiberius, Tiberius' own son Drusus and his adopted son Germanicus, the consuls and consuls designate, the total being made up by co-opting other senators. Germanicus, as already remarked, is absent from the council recorded in the papyrus, in which also it does not seem possible to trace the names of the consuls and consuls designate. But it is interesting to note that of the two names that can be identified, one Valerius Messalinus might be described as an intimate of Tiberius, the other had a sister or daughter who was very friendly with Livia and a daughter or granddaughter who was the first wife of the Emperor Claudius (ll. 36, 39 notes). The presence of these persons lends some plausibility to the view that one purpose of the consilium was to facilitate the transfer of power from Augustus to Tiberius.

What the Alexandrian envoys said is more difficult to elucidate in view of the tattered text. A hint towards its interpretation can perhaps be found in Claudius' famous letter to the Alexandrians. The structure of his reply reveals the diplomatic way in which the Alexandrian deputation of eleven persons broached its task. First it presented a decree, then the delegates 'discoursed at length on the city, directing attention to the goodwill stored up by the emperor towards them'. Next the delegates requested Claudius' acceptance of a number of honours, some of them explicitly recognizing his divinity. Only then did they come really to the point that lay nearest their hearts: especially the request for a city council. In the scene in our text nearly thirty years earlier things seem to have taken a similar course. The first speaker presents the decrees, and aims to secure the emperor's goodwill, but does not go beyond generalities. The second makes a request, which A. Momigliano suggests may well be permission to take some step forward in promoting the imperial cult in Alexandria. The suggestion is confirmed by analogy with Claudius' letter, and satisfies the antithesis of Timoxenus 'What you have granted to other persons, such a grant we ask you to make today to your Alexandrian subjects'; and it seems to suit the term *προσκυνήσασαν*. What is it, then, that Augustus interrupts to say he has seen? Possibly it might be the city of Alexandria itself, which as Octavian he had entered triumphantly more than forty years earlier. Momigliano suggests that the 'victory' of l. 51 might be a statue of *Victoria Augusta*, perhaps erected in Alexandria at that very time.

The text breaks and it cannot be discovered whether this was all that the Alexandrian delegation wanted. Yet it is not at all unlikely that the delegation went on to make more serious requests. Only two speakers have taken the floor so far, and a request for a city council, a *βουλή*, would supply a motive for the delegation's visit more solid and plausible than the payment of a few compliments: indeed, even if the delegation had come primarily to congratulate Livia and Tiberius (a motive that might be inferred from ll. 45-46), it might have proposed a serious end for itself as well. If so there are possibilities of an interesting *rapprochement* between this text and PSI 1160. Speculation on the personalities among the delegates cannot bring any certainty. Timoxenus is unknown from other sources. But one famous Alexandrian of this period called Alexander is known, the rich Jew called the 'alabarch' man of business to both Herod, Agrippa, and to women of the imperial house, and brother of Philo. No one was more likely than he to be *persona grata*: and if he is in fact the first speaker, a vision is conjured up of a society in Alexandria in which Jew and Greek are not yet at each other's throats. No doubt one would not expect to find a Jew participating in an embassy, the main business of which was to extend the bounds of the imperial cult. But this objection would not be a fatal one if the embassy's object went deeper. The suggested identification, however, can be no more than a possibility (l. 41 n.).

An important question remains unanswered: do these scraps of papyrus represent

a merely private piece of reportage or were they intended to have a wider circulation and a political purpose? And if the latter alternative is correct, to what class of literature should they be assigned? There are two lines of argument which suggest that this text is more than a private individual's copy. The first is based on the use of recto and verso of the same roll to carry material relating to the same theme, the relationship of Alexandria and Rome. The text on the recto contained at least three columns (it begins in the middle of the narrative, and part of a following column can be glimpsed) and may well have been more extensive; the speeches on the verso are reported at quite a generous length. As has been seen, the scribe in both cases is probably the same; and some at least of his errors seem to be those made in carelessly copying an exemplar. The second line of argument draws on the apparent analogy between the text on the verso and the so-called *Acta Alexandrinorum* of later date: the reason for thinking of these as a kind of pamphlet literature which passed from hand to hand in clandestine circulation is that specimens of them concerning different episodes in the relations between Rome and Alexandria have been found in many different places.

We know of one<sup>1</sup> similar text to that on the recto, namely P. Fouad 8, which recounted a visit paid to Alexandria by Vespasian after his nomination to the Empire; and his reception in the Hippodrome by the prefect Ti. Iulius Alexander. It seems as though the detailed recital of visits to Alexandria by great personages, such as members of the imperial house, might form one favoured theme of political pamphleteering: one might call this type the literature of ἐμφανισμοί, 'public appearances,' to use a term employed by Germanicus himself, when in one of his edicts he threatens that he will have to refrain from ἐμφανισμοί if the people insists on treating him as a divinity. Though the text seems to be a straightforward piece of journalistic reporting, a certain editorial supervision has been exercised, if only in the insertion of notes of applause;<sup>2</sup> it is not clear, for instance, what remarks of Germanicus called for a burst of cheers at l. 24. It is worth noting that Claudius' allusion in his letter to Germanicus' frank addresses in Egypt was taken by the first editor to imply definite speeches still on record. For the text on the verso two lines of ancestors may be traced: the first, somewhat remotely, may be seen in Hellenistic confections περὶ πρεσβειῶν: one such is recorded among the catalogue of works of Demetrius of Phalerum, Diog. Laert. v 80 (see H. Bloch on P. Col. Zenon ii 60). A second and more immediate ancestor is documentary record. The detailed accuracy of protocol in this text emerges even out of careless copying and vulgar Greek, and is fully confirmed by comparison with known documents. No doubt an official might have access to Roman records (Claudius' well-known letter was circulated for public display) or a prominent Alexandrian to the minutes made by the Alexandrian delegation for its own use (it was probably an

<sup>1</sup> G. Bräunecker has recently identified the proem of Vespasian's speech on this occasion in a Vienna papyrus, an even closer parallel to our recto text.

<sup>2</sup> Pointed out to me by N. Lewis.

Alexandrian citizen who carried this copy to Oxyrhynchus). But such texts were not valued as documents for their own sake: they were valued for their promotion of a political ideal.

The point, however, of greatest interest in our texts is that they are practically contemporary with the events they describe. The latest acceptable dates for these texts, as has been already seen, is A.D. 50; and on palaeographical grounds one is tempted to put them quite close to Germanicus' visit. Here again these texts seem to be analogous to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. If they do belong to that class of literature, they supply a concrete example on which to base the view already ably argued by H. Musurillo in his collection of the *Acta* that the latter were originally written at the same time as the events they describe, even though our surviving copies are of later date. If they do not belong to the *Acta* literature as such, they might still have formed a model for them. One difference, that of tone, is readily apparent: the *Acta* are anti-imperial and deal in trial scenes, not embassies, martyrdoms rather than exchanges of courtesies. In our texts, the relation between the two sides seems still to be friendly or at least neutral: there has been no break yet. Whether the possibility of a worsening of such relations, such as seemed imminent after the Jewish pogrom in Alexandria under Gaius, and the desire either to encourage or to prevent a break is the occasion for compiling and circulating the present text must remain a matter for speculation.

Recto

].[

[ο] ἐξηγητῆς ἐπέδωκ' αὐτῷ αὐτοκρατορικῶν ἀμφότερα]  
 τα ψήφισματὰ οὐ αὐτοκρατορικῶν ἐγὼ πεμφθεῖς]  
 [ὑπο τοῦ] π[α]τρὸς ἀνδρῶν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς  
 [οἱ] ὄχλοι ἐφώνησαν οὐα κῆρυ ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν  
 5 [δ]έξιεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐ αὐτοκρατορικῶν περὶ πολλοῦ  
 [μὲν οὖν] ποιησάμενοι ἀνδρῶν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς]  
 [δ]ιαλεχθῆναι μὲν ὑμῶν ἀνασχέσθε ἢ ὅταν ἐπιτελε-  
 [σ]ῶν τὰ πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπισζητούμενων τότε ἐπι-  
 [σ]ημανθῆσθαι ἐγὼ πεμφθεὶς ὡς ἐφη<ν> ὑπο τοῦ πατρὸς  
 10 [ε]πι τοῦ καταστησασθαι ταῖς περὶ θάλασσης ἐπαρχίας  
 [ε]χῶν χαλεποτάτον προστάγμα πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸν  
 πλὸν κανὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπεσπασθαι πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς  
 [κ]αὶ μητρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ οὐκίων [ ]

προκιμεν... [..προ]σταγμα τον[.]ον.η[.....]  
 15 [.]κοντητον[.] [.]σπασαμην το οικιον πολυμ[.....]  
 [κ]αινην δε θαλασαν ειναι προτον μεν ειδω την η[με-]  
 [τ]εραν πολυν. οι [οχ]λοι εφωνησαν επ αγαθωι  
 [αυ]τοκρατωρ ηδη δε ηγησαμενος αυτην ευ[αι]  
 [λ]αμπροτατον θεαμαι το μεν προτον δια τ[ον]  
 20 [η]ρωα και κτ[ισ]την προς τον κυνη τι εστιν ο[φ]ει[λημα]  
 [το]ις των αυτ[ων] αντεχωμενοις επιτα δια τας ευε[ρ-]  
 [γε]σιας τας εμου παππου Σεβαστου και πατρος εστιν  
 [.]τησεις ως ομιμν προς εμε δικαιον και σιοπω μεν ο[υ]ν  
 [οι οχ]λοι εφωνησα[ν] ιω ζωης επι πλιον ο αυτοκρατωρ  
 25 [α]οιδ εκ[α]τος εμεινημην δε και ως ταυτα πολλα-  
 [πλ]ασειογα τεθησαυρισμεναι εν ταις υμετεραις  
 [ευ]χαις ευρον εγραφη μεν γαρ ψηφισματα  
 [ε]ντιμαι συνηλεγμενων και ολιγων ανδρων [

Col. ii. Opp. l. 23 ο αυ[τοκρατωρ] Opp. l. 27 . . . [

1 l. αυτοκράτορι 2 l. ψηφίσματα, ἐγώ 3 l. Ἀλεξανδρεῖς 8 l. ἕκαστα, ἐπιζητούμενων,  
 ἐπισημάνθηθε 10 l. τὰς, θαλάσσης 11 l. χαλεπώτατον, πρώτον 13 l. οἰκείων 15 l.  
 οἰκείον 16 l. θάλασσαν ἵνα πρώτον, ἴδω, ὑμετέραν 19 l. θέαμα, πρώτον; in τὸ, ο altered  
 from a 20 l. κωνῆ 21 l. ἀντεχομένοις ἐπιτα 23 l. σιωπῶ 24 l. ἰὼ, πλείον  
 26 l. τεθησαυρισμένα 27 l. ψηφίσματα 28 l. ἐντιμα, συνειλεγμένων

Verso

[τομ(ου)..] κ[ο]λ[ληματος] π ετο[υ]ς μβ Καισαρος ε[ι]φ.νηαι[.]  
 30 [.....] .δ[ω]ρας θ[ε] εκαθισεν ο Σε-  
 [βαστος] εν τωι του Απολλωνος ιερω  
 [εν τη Ρ]ωμαικη βυβλιοθηκη και δι-  
 [ηκουσ]εν των πρεσβευτων <των> Αλεξαν-  
 [δρεων] συνκαθημενον αυτωι Τιβ[ε]ριου  
 35 [Καισαρ]ος και Δ[ρ]ουσου του Καισαρος  
 [και Ουα]λ[ε]ριου Μεσσαλιου Κυρβιγου  
 [.....]υ και Τι[β]ε[ρ]ιος Δερ[ε]ου.στορος  
 [.....]ου Μα[ρ]κ[ου]νιου Τιτου .....γου  
 [.....]ωγος Μαρκ[ου]νιου Ανθιδιου Οργ[ολ]ανιου  
 40 [.....]σιαγου Τ.δ... ανεδωκεν τα  
 [ψηφισ]ματα Αλεξα[νδ]ρος και ειπεν

[.....]ειας π[ρ]οεπεμψε με η πολεις  
 [.....]οντα της ..ισης παραστησα<ι> σοι  
 [.....]ην και αγαδι[δο]ναι ται ψηφισματα  
 45 [.....]εμπρο[.....]πον δε και Διβιας  
 [.....] και [Τιβε]ριου(?) [Καισ]α[ρο]ς δι[.....]  
 [.....]δ[.....]ακο[ 15 ]ρ[.....]ας  
 [.....]το]σανται αλλ.....κεχ.....αιον  
 [πρεσβ]ευτων μεταξυ δε ου το[.....].....  
 50 [.....]s ων δικαιμ[.....]εγνωκας αξιου-  
 [.....]α σε .....ε.θης τη νικη .ισας ελ-  
 [.....]σ) ο Σεβαστος ειδεν αυτην  
 [.....]ε]π αγαθωι επ αγαθωι μετα δε  
 [ταυτ ειπε] Τιμοξενος ρητωρ οσην και τοις  
 55 [.....]στοις υ[.....]ιοις παραχησις ουδεμ  
 [.....]εν.ομ[.....] κ]υριε Σεβαστε τωσαυ-  
 [την και] τοις [σ]ο[ι]ς Α[λ]εξανδρουσι δεομε-  
 [θα πα]ρασχε[ιν] σημερον λογω γαρ υμεις  
 [ικετε]υσαντες παρεσμεν το δ αληθος  
 60 [.....]απασι α σπουδην την συνιεροτατην  
 [τυχη]ν προσκυνησασαν ετυγχανε[ιν] οι δε μελ

The exegetes: 'I have given the emperor himself both the decrees.' The emperor: 'I who was sent by my father, men of Alexandria . . .' The crowd called out 'Hurrah! Lord! Good luck! You will gain blessings!' The emperor: 'You, men of Alexandria, who have set great store by my addressing you, wait till I have completed my answers to each of your questions before applauding. I, who was sent by my father, as I said, to regulate the provinces overseas, a difficult assignment, in the first place because of the sea voyage, and then because it has torn me from the embrace of my father and grandmother and mother and brothers and sisters and children and intimate friends . . . the aforesaid assignment . . .

a new sea in order in the first place to see your city . . .' The crowd called out: 'Good luck!' The emperor: 'Even before now I thought it to be a dazzling spectacle, in the first place because of the hero who is your founder, to whom a common debt is due from those who have the same aspirations, in the second place because of the good offices rendered by [or, to] my grandfather Augustus and my father . . . as is right in your case towards me. And I do not speak . . .' The crowd called out 'Bravo, may you live all the longer.' The emperor: '[I do not speak] of what everyone knows, but I do remember how I have found your greetings multiplied through

being stored in your hearts. For honorary decrees can be drawn up in sessions of a few men but . . .'

ll. 29—[Roll no. ] column 80. Year 42 of Caesar, [month]. 4, 9th hour. Augustus took his seat in the temple of Apollo in the Roman library and gave audience to the ambassadors from Alexandria. There sat with him Tiberius Caesar, Drusus son of Caesar, Valerius Messalinus Corvinus and [five other names, including that of Marcus Auidius Org(ol)anius]. Alexander delivered the decrees and spoke: ' . . . my city has sent me on a mission to . . . to offer to you . . . and to hand over their decrees . . . and praise of Liuia . . . [and of Tiberius Caesar?] . . . ambassadors . . . the victory.' Augustus: 'I have seen it.' [Shouts of] 'Good luck, good luck.' Then Timoxenus, orator, spoke: 'Such a . . . as you have granted, lord Augustus, to . . . who . . . , such a grant we ask you to make today to your Alexandrian subjects. In appearance we are here as your suppliants; but in truth [our city with full enthusiasm is paying worship to your most sacred Fortune] . . .'

1 At left hand side of top margin, foot of a tall letter, e.g. ι or ρ, possibly a column number.

δ ἐξηγητής: the role of the ἐξηγητής as spokesman for the community seems to justify Oertel's view, *Die Liturgie* 325 seqq., that he originally presided over the non-autonomous city administration. Cf., however, P. Jouguet, *Vie munic.* 292 seqq.; Grenfell and Hunt on 1412, 1-3.

Normally no punctuation is marked after the indication of the speaker, only at the end of the statement: but cf. the middle point after ἀποκράτωρ in l. 5.

ἀμφότερα]: read by C. E. Hajistephanou.

2 ψηφίσματα: cf. P. Lond. 1912, 20; *infra* ll. 27-28, 41. The only body whose decrees these can be is the Greek *gerousia*, on which cf. P. Ryl. 599 introd.

4 οἱ ὄχλοι ἐφώνησαν: the parallel with (organized) popular interruptions in the Gospel narratives (Matt. xxvii 15-26; Mark xv 7-15; Luke xxiii 13-25) is very close. Matthew, Luke, and Acts also commonly use the plural οἱ ὄχλοι (cf. Bauer, *Wörterb. z. N.T.* s.v. 1); οὐδ' = *uah*, here presumably of admiration or congratulation. The earliest example cited in LSJ is Mark xv 29 (ironical), then in Arrian of admiration.

8 ἐπιστητούμενων: cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* 1, i, p. 210 for Ptolemaic parallels for ζ written σζ.

10 [ἐ]πὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι κτλ: *missus ad constituendas transmarinas provincias*. Tac. *Ann.* ii 43 thus defines the command: 'tunc decreto patrum permissae Germanico provinciae quae mari diuiduntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent.' Germanicus clearly treats Egypt as an ἐπαρχία = *provincia*. Tiberius did not.

14 and 15 [.]κονητων can hardly be articulated except as -κοντ' (verbal, with τὸν of previous line) ἤτ(τ)ον; then ἀπ[ε]σπασάμην, or less probably [ἡ]σπασάμην.

20 πρὸς τὸν: τ of τὸν (i.e. article for relative) is represented by only a slight horizontal, which, however, seems to be more than an extension of the last stroke of the preceding σ. I owe the reading κωνη τι to H. C. Youtie, who persuaded me that there is a horizontal bar joining the two uprights and curve of the letter or letters after ν, and that therefore \*κωνισί ('in Cynic fashion') cannot be read. δ[φ]ελλ[η]μα], though it suits the traces, is *exempli gratia* only. On this restoration Germanicus leaves a deliberate ambiguity as to whether he is associating only himself, or the whole populace of Alexandria, with the aspirations of Alexander. Germanicus shares with Octavian two of the three reasons why the latter released the Alexandrians from blame in 30 B.C.: πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸν κτιστήν Ἀλέξανδρον, δεύτερον δὲ τῆς πόλεως θαυμάζων τὸ κάλλος, τρίτον δ' Ἀρείω τῷ ἐταίρῳ χαριζόμενος, Plut. *Ant.* 80.

21 τὰς εὐεργεσίας: P. Lond. 1912, 21 seqq. might suggest that the ambiguity in the genitive (services done to or done by) was deliberately intended.

23 The subject of the verb ἐστίν is presumably concealed in the opening of the line, but the neuter

δικαιον seems to forbid a feminine abstract in -ησις. ὡς ἄμην perhaps rather than ὡς οἶμαι; less probably ἰσως ἴμην. ο<υ>ν: ο has a curved tail, as if ligatured with υ.

24 The ι of ω is concealed by a fold.

29 κ[σ]λ[λήματος]: the reading is very uncertain.

30 Before δ, either κ (i.e. κδ = 24th) or η as ending of Month name (e.g. [Μεσορ]ῆ). For ἐκδόσεν, cf. Wilcken, *Chr.* 14 i 16.

31 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ: it is uncertain what preposition should be restored at the beginning of l. 32. It must be short since the number of initial letters lost averages five. For the temple of the Palatine Apollo dedicated by Octavian in 28 B.C. see in general Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dictionary of Ancient Rome* 16-17 and *ibid.* 84 for its libraries. The two Jewish embassies of 4 B.C. were received there, Josephus *BJ* ii 6, 1 and *Antiq.* xvii 11, 1. The tabula Hebana lays down that *imagines* are to be erected 'in Palatio in porticu quae est ad Apollinis in eo templo in quo senatus haberi solet', and H. M. Last (*JRS* xliii (1953) 27-29) interprets this, in connexion with Propertius ii 31, to mean a portico outside the temple, where there was a notable statue of Apollo. Whatever the preposition to be restored in l. 32, the 'Roman library' seems here to be subsumed under the temple.

32 δ[ήκουσ]εν: supplemented by A. D. Nock. Cf. Acta Apost. 23, 35, and Preisigke, *WB*.

34 συναθήμενον: there is not room to read -ων, nor do the traces resemble these letters.

35 Tiberius was adopted by Augustus in A.D. 4. After that date the usual style for his son Drusus is Drusus Iulius Ti. f. Aug. n. Caesar. But the style in the text is not wrong.

36 Valerius Messalinus Corvinus, PIR iii, Valerius 93, consul 2 B.C., governor of Illyricum A.D. 6, received *ornamenta triumphalia* and shared in Tiberius' triumph. At the time of Tiberius' accession he proposed that the oath of loyalty to Tiberius should be taken annually, Tac. *Ann.* i 8. He is the son of the famous Messala Corvinus, cos. 30 B.C., from whom he derives his second cognomen. On his death his brother M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus, cos. 20, took over the cognomen Messallinus, Velleius ii 112.

37 It might be just possible to read Τιβ[ερ]ίου Δε[μ]φ, but this leaves an awkward initial restoration, an uncommon praenomen for a senator, and a difficult short nomen beginning with Den. For cognomen R. Syme suggests Pastor or Tutor. Ιαστοπος might be read at the end, but the preceding traces are not easy to reconcile with Π; the letter before τοπος might also be υ.

38 The supplement Μα[σ]ω[ν]ίου is due to Syme. For the Masonii cf. *CIL* xi 4487-9. Apparently this senator had no cognomen. The praenomen Titus of the following name is quite clear. The nomen might be divined as Διβισσωνου (with Δ or Δ as alternatives for Δ, θ or μ for β): the cognomen is presumably one of the numerous ones in -ο.

39 Μάρκ[ο]ν Ἀνθ[ο]νίου Ὀργ[ο]λ[αν]ίου: the nomen is presumably Auidius, though Auedius is possible. For the cognomen, though Orcanius (cf. Orca, cognomen of a Caesarian senator, Cic. *ad fam.* xiii 4) is possible, it has seemed preferable to follow a suggestion of Momigliano's, and treat it as error for Orgolanius = Urgulanius, since that will make of this unknown a link between certain prominent known personalities. The cognomen is Etruscan, but is also spelt with ο instead of υ in a fragment of the Elogia Tarquiniensia, discussed by J. Heurgon in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1953, 92 seqq. The existence of an important personage named M. Auidius Urgulanius would account for the intimacy with Liuia of his sister or daughter Urgulania (Tac. *Ann.* ii 34; iv 21, 22) and the marriage of the latter's daughter to the young Claudius.

40 Though Ισμενον is the most obvious way of reading these marks, they could also be taken as Ιουβίου, or Ιουλλίου, Ιουμίου, Ιουμίου, or indeed in other ways.

41 For ψηφίσματα delivered by an embassy cf. l. 2 note. [γράμ]ματα is a less probable alternative restoration.

Alexander: Our knowledge of the personalities of Alexandria is far from exhaustive. Though Alexander was not a specially frequent name among Alexandrians, it was not deliberately avoided by the Hellenized classes, if one may judge from the lists of strategi and epistrategi, etc. On the other hand, as V. Tcherikover points out *Corpus Pap. Iud.* i 140, introd. to No. 13, the name is not infrequent among Egyptian Jews. I should like to call attention to the fact that the Alexander whose work is read and criticized in Philo's Dialogue *Alexander* tells a story (p. 137 Aucher) of the courteous action of trained elephants at Germanicus' consular games (i.e. A.D. 12) and later adds (p. 152) 'etenim ego quando per legationem adii Romam crebro uidi in bestiarum congressibus etc. . . .'. This *legatio* is not



dated, yet it would be natural to put it also in A.D. 12, and if so the Alexander of our papyrus and Philo's dialogue may be identical. The latter could not then be Tiberius Iulius Alexander, as I argued, following Pohlenz, in *JRS* 1954, p. 56; while both Philo's and Lysimachus' reference to him as 'Alexander noster ex fratre nepos' (pp. 123, 161) and Lysimachus' reference to him as 'auunculus et simul socer' (p. 123) stand in the way of identifying him with Alexander the alabarch.

42-43 ἡ πόλις, i.e. Alexandria. Space is too short to restore an initial [Ἀλεξανδρ]είας. Probably an abstract should be restored here, to be construed as partitive genitive with a future participle in 43, e.g. [εὐμεν]είας . . . [παρέξ]οντα. Instead of ἰσης (before which it is not possible to read τε) . . . κης or even . . . ηης seem possibilities. The στ of παραστήσ- are not entirely satisfactory, but there seems to be more than παρα της (which leaves a superfluous α). Perhaps παραστήσα(σα) and ἀγαθ[οῦ]α 44, participles with ἡ πόλις, should be restored rather than two infinitives.

45-46 Possibly [. ἐπα]ῶν δὲ καὶ Λιβίας [Σεβαστοῦ].

The following restoration is very uncertain.

49 ξυ is clear and the other letters plausible, but the construction at the beginning of a clause (unless μεταξύ = εἴματα) is obscure. After το[.], possibly συμ (i.e. τοῖς ὑμ[ετέροις]) or ον (τὸ ὄνομα).

50-51 ὦν δικαιοσύνην ἔγνωκας is suggested by S. Weinstock, assuming the traces between ν and δ to be accidental. Thereafter ἀξιοῦ[μεν] ἀρ[α] σε, followed by a subjunctive, suggests itself. After σε, possibly δ, α, or β; a missing letter; then κ or σ, followed possibly by εν or ευ, ἀκολουθῆς cannot be read.

52 [σ]: I do not know how to interpret the semicircle after σ. It resembles no known abbreviation, and is most like the parentheses used to mark a deletion. The ends of the semicircle do not touch the edge of the papyrus, so that it is not a deletion of a word run in from a previous column. In any case the space that follows indicates that Alexander's speech has come to an end. It therefore seems best to emend εἶδεν to εἶδον, and to suppose these words to be a remark made by Augustus. The congratulations ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ of l. 53 might be from the lips of the Alexandrian delegates: more probably they are the applause of bystanders (cf. Josephus' account of the audience of the Jewish embassy, *BJ* ii 6, 1, μετὰ μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν πλῆθος ἔστη, σὺν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἀντικρυς Ἀρχέλαος).

54-56 At the beginning of l. 55, e.g. [ἄλλοι]ς τοῖς σι [πλεῖ]στοις; what follows does not seem to be ὑποχειρίαις. At the beginning of l. 56 presumably comparative adverb to follow οὐδέν and participle in dative, e.g. οὐδέν [πλῖον] εὐ[χ]ομ[ένοι]ς. ὄσσην calls for a feminine correlative τοσαύ[τη]ν and a feminine abstract, for which there does not seem to be room: if παραχῆσις is emended to give it (e.g. as παρα-χ[ῆ]σις), then a verb is required. παραχῆσις (which could be read παραχῆσις) is perhaps better emended to a verbal form, παρέχεις σι παρεχώρησας.

58 σημερον: the last letter is corrected to ο from α. L. ἡμεῖς.

59 [ικετ]εῖσαντες: for the use of the aorist participle instead of the future when expressing purpose, cf. A. Wifstrand, *Eranos* liv (1956) 123 seqq.

59-61 L. ἀληθές, τὴν σὴν. [τύχη]ν seems a probable restoration in view of προσκυν. L. 60 clearly calls for emendation and in l. 61 the scribe has himself altered, though apparently without deletions, the last two letters of προσκυνήσασαν, and has then altered several letters at the end of the line. The easiest treatment is τὸ δ' ἀληθές [ἡ πόλις] (so S. Weinstock) ἀπάση σπουδῇ τὴν σὴν ἱερωτάτην [τύχη]ν προσκυνήσασα τυγχάνει. οἱ δὲ μέ[λο]ις . . .

2436. MONODY WITH MUSICAL NOTATION<sup>1</sup>

15.8 × 13.5 cm.

Early second century *Plate*

## I. The Text

Parts of two columns from the foot of a roll. Of the left-hand column only a few letters survive, but there are about 11 cm. (26 to 38 letters) of the beginnings of lines in the second column. The text, though verse, is written continuously without colometry, as seems to have been customary in musical copies. There is *eisthesis* of the last two lines. The writing is on the recto of the papyrus, which is formed of two kollemata, and shows three joins. On the verso are parts of two columns of a magical spell of the second to third centuries.

The hand which copied the text wrote with a fine pen and easy informality. His small, well-rounded letters, both their shapes and their finials made with easy elegance, are reminiscent of the second hand found in 841, and should probably be assigned to the same period as that hand, namely the end of the first century or the early second century. There is a tendency for the scribe to form letters into word groups. Occasionally his writing lapses into cursive forms with ligatures (e.g. εἰ; λλ as in ii 4), and once he seems to have made an error in copying (ii 6 note). There is no punctuation, not even a paragraphus in the text. The musical notation, both of pitch and rhythm, was added by a second and much rougher hand above the line. At one or two places (e.g. ii 5, 6, a diseme over a short syllable; ii 5, 12, similarly, though the diseme is placed over a consonant) the notation seems to be out of phase with the text.

Col. ii contains a monody (1 ψαύω, 3 ἠὺτέκνησ' ἐγώ) addressed to a chorus which is bidden to dance. The view to be taken both of the genre of this text and its metrical character depends on the restorations adopted for the right-hand side of the column. It is therefore important to establish, if possible, the length of line. From the point of view of sense there are no restorations which impose themselves. External considerations suggest that a considerable amount of text may have been lost. The lines of the Oslo papyrus<sup>2</sup> (accepting the editors' restoration of l. 9) are about 21-22 cm. long; the Christian hymn in 1786 has a line of over 30 cm.; the Berlin musical papyrus (S.B. Berlin, 1918, 763 ff.) preserves 17 cm. of writing at its greatest extent, perhaps a half of the width. Seemingly the convention in a musical score was a length of line much greater than the 15-16 syllables of the hexameter, the longest line otherwise normally found in literary texts.

Consequently the only means available for restoration are metrical. Of the first

<sup>1</sup> Responsibility for the transcription and account of the text rests with E. G. Turner, for the account of the music with R. P. Winnington-Ingram. But we have consulted on all difficult points.

<sup>2</sup> P. Oslo Inv. 1413 A and B (*Symbolae Osloenses* xxxi (1955), 1-87), hereafter cited as Oslo A and B.

five lines ll. 3-5 are in iambo-trochaic movement (and this is not excluded for ll. 1-2); the evidence from word-ending may be reinforced by the notation at the points where *lekkythia* seem to end: in l. 3 *μᾶλλον ἠντέκνησ' ἐγώ* and l. 4 [τ]ῶν κακῶν χορεύσατε, for at both endings the last syllable bears two notes, one of which has the diseme mark. Possibly the hyphen at l. 2, 1 followed by the space in the text should also be treated as evidence of a phrase ending; but it is hardly a reliable indication, since at l. 5] *αθητε* / 3 two musical notes with hyphen are the musical treatment corresponding to a metrical lengthening by position before *μν-*, and almost certainly therefore not the close of a metrical phrase. The *lekkythia* already mentioned could be taken to be straightforward catalectic trochaic dimeters. But not all the preserved lines will allow of this construction, and restoration makes even one of the pair uncertain. The restoration [ἐμ]ῶν κακῶν in l. 4 would give an acatalectic iambic dimeter; to restore ἀπαλλα[γῆναι τ]ῶν κακῶν χορεύσατε in the same line (the restoration is possibly rather long, but cannot be excluded) would give an iambic trimeter. That trimeters might be sung instead of recited is known from Oslo B, and no doubt trimeters could be restored here throughout if it is assumed that at least as much of the text is lost as is preserved.

At l. 6 the movement becomes more complex, reflected in the abundant rhythmic notation. In l. 8 there are certainly three successive cretics, and this cretic chain probably began in l. 7, perhaps even in l. 6. It does not seem necessary to assume that a new subject or even a new poem begins at l. 6, for a cretic series may easily intrude into either iambs or trochaics by syncopation. These general considerations are supported by the interpretation of the rhythmical notation given on p. 118, in which the use of the *leimma* is taken to indicate that the length of the syllable concerned is 'prolonged' to three *χρόνοι*, and the metre is iambic. If the metre of the more lyrical section ll. 6-8 is iambic, it is likely that the preceding ll. 1-5 have also a principally iambic base. One may compare the sandwiching of 3 iambic metra between 5 preceding and 4 following such metra syncopated into cretics which are found in 9 (= Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 192, no. 22, cited also below, p. 118). But it does not seem possible to proceed from this to any systematic reconstruction of ll. 1-5. The rhythmical features of ll. 6-8 are analysed further below, p. 118.

As to what the verses are, three genres seem to be worth consideration: (1) a Hellenistic or even Roman music-hall scena; (2) a dithyramb, whether late classical or Hellenistic; (3) a pre-Hellenistic lyric, in which case the most probable supposition might be a lyric from a satyr-play.

(1) and (2) might seem, prima facie, the more plausible guesses, and they will be discussed first. For either of them the singer might be identified from *ἠντέκνησα* as Niobe, if a woman, Priam if a man (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 620 ὃ εἰτεκνώτατε Πρίαμε). The fate of Niobe was a favoured imperial theme (evidence collected by Lesky in *R.E.* s.v.), and Timotheus wrote a famous dithyramb with this title. Certain metrical features might seem to favour this hypothesis: (a) l. 3 in *ἠντέκνησα ἐγώ*, though the first vowel must be elided for the metre, it is given a separate musical note. (b) l. 2 *Ἄρεως* is treated

musically as a trisyllable. (c) In l. 7 hiatus is tolerated between the close of *-λάσσειται* and interjectory *ἦν* (if that is the right restoration). (d) ].δεσ in l. 7 is treated as long in the musical setting. On closer inspection, however, (a) (b) (d) show only that the musical setting treats the rhythm differently from the poet, and are no bar to the view that the words are of much earlier date than the music (for two musical notes when the vowel is elided cf. Oslo B, l. 16 δὲ ὁμοῦ): and in the case of (c), the hiatus may perhaps be accounted for by postulating a strong break (Timotheus fr. 3 Bergk ὄτ' αὐξεται ἠλίου ἀνγαῖς may not be a parallel for hiatus at the cretic, for correption may be involved). The points advanced<sup>1</sup> are not therefore decisive; and against the hypothesis of a music-hall scena is to be set the fact that there is not as yet among the papyri any immediate parallel of Hellenistic or Roman date for a dramatic composition with chorus present: while the metrical system seems to be more complex than usual for these late compositions. Similarly the dramatic element weighs against the theory of a dithyrambic composition.

The third theory, that of a satyr-play, is therefore worth consideration. It is at any rate an arguable case. Metrically, the lines can be compared with some of the choral intrusions in the *Ichneutae*, e.g. the runs of cretics among iambs in ll. 324 ff. The presence of goatherds, cowherds, shepherds, and maenads need occasion no surprise in such a context. Suppose *μου* of l. 3 to be completed as *Πριά]μου*, the remark becomes the kind of humorous aside appropriate in a satyr-play in the mouth of Silenus, who enjoyed a larger paternity than Priam. He might therefore be half-scolding, half-thinking aloud before his family of satyrs (cf. *Ichneutae* 139 ff., *Cyclops* 81 ff.), who also constitute the chorus. This might justify the restoration *παῖ[δες* in l. 6. The reference to Priam would not necessarily put the scene in the Troad, though there might be a humorous appropriateness in such a location, and one might think even of such a title as the Sophoclean *κρίσις σατυρική*, if that is rightly understood of the Judgement of Paris and not the *δπλων κρίσις*.<sup>2</sup> But it must be remembered that a satyr play could also be Alexandrian.

If this is a just view of the matter, and the text is classical but the music that of a later epoch, then the papyrus seems to be part of another such book of extracts for singing as the Oslo papyrus, a book in which soloists exploited the classics in the way suggested by such inscriptions as that of Themiso *μόνον και πρώτον Εὐρειπίδην Σοφοκλέα και Τιμόθεον ἐαντῶ μελοποιήσαντα* (cf. *Symbol. Osloenses*, l.c., p. 27; H. Latte, *Eranos* liii (1955) 75-76).

<sup>1</sup> I do not add the linguistic use involved in *μᾶλλον ἠντέκνησα*, 'I had more children than'.

<sup>2</sup> Miss A. M. Dale suggests another location in mythology, that the singer is Althaea, resolved to revenge herself on Meleager (son of Ares according to the tradition in Apollodorus 1. 8. 2 and certain other authors), and that the *πυρός* of l. 6 is the fatal brand, the burning of which killed Meleager.



## II. The Music

## (1) The melodic notation

The notes employed are set out below, together with conventional modern equivalents:

Col. i	f	g	a	b	c'				
R	φ	ς	ο	ξ					
Col. ii	g	a	bη	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'
	φ	ς	ρ	μ	ι	ξ	ε	υ	
			ο	ξ					

There can be no serious doubt about any of these notes. The form of R (i 2, 3 and 4, 1) is closely similar to that of Oslo B, 17, 3; the three examples in 1786 are more regular, but that at the end of l. 3 shows how the form in our papyrus may have developed. The note here represented by υ is described in Alypius (e.g. 369, 17 J) as δ τετράγωνον ὑπτιον, but it occurs in a rounded form in the Berlin Paean (P. Berl. 6870). The form here is flatter and more carelessly written, but the intention is unmistakable (cf. ii 2. 6-8).

All these notes are found in the Hypolydian *tonos*, including the tetrachord *συνημμένων*. In col. ii ο (παραμέση) and ρ (τρίτη συνημμένων) each occur twice, but μ (παρανήτη συνημμένων) is far more frequent than ξ (τρίτη διεζευγμένων). It seems less artificial, therefore, to regard col. i as written in the Hypolydian *tonos*, but col. ii in the Lydian, with two transitory modulations at the fourth to the Hypolydian (at 4. 7 ff. and 6. 14 ff.). We can compare the scale of Oslo B.

The Lydian notes of col. ii constitute a complete diatonic octave from g to g' (with bη), equivalent to the D octave in the natural key (compare the scale of Seikilos); the substitution of οξ for ρμ produces the G octave in the natural key. The melody is too fragmentary and the rhythmical interpretation at many points too uncertain for any reliable conclusions to be drawn concerning the tonality (or tonalities) of the piece, and it is perhaps better at this stage to refrain from speculation. The most interesting melodic feature which survives is the florid treatment of χορεύσατε in ii 4, which may have been a musical cadence.

A sufficient number of words has been read together with their notes to establish the important fact that the melody pays close regard to the word-accent.<sup>1</sup> (This relationship can conveniently be studied in the transcription into staff notation.) Of the basic principle that no note given to an unaccented syllable should be higher than the note (or highest note) of the accented syllable there are only two apparent breaches: ii 5. 10-13 and 8. 11-14, and in the former case the interpretation is doubtful (see critical note ad loc. and p. 118 n. 1). In a number of acute-accented words the accented syllable has a note (or notes) higher in pitch than those of the other

<sup>1</sup> The evidence of other musical documents is reviewed in *Symb. Osl.* xxxi 64-73.

syllable(s): ii 3. 5-7 (ἐγώ), 4. 7-13 (χορεύσατε), cf. 6. 1-3 (εἶ τις), 6. 12-13 (ἔτι), 6. 14-19 (λείπεται), 6. 20-21 (πυρί, if rightly so accented), 7. 9-12 (αἰπόλων); probably also 7. 1-4 (-λάσσειται) and 8. 5-10 (βουκόλοι); possibly 6. 7-8 (? στέγας, but see below). Of the two circumflex-accented syllables (μᾶλλον in ii 3 and κακῶν in ii 4) neither is set to a descending pair of notes, but the sample is small. There is no clear sign of that subordination of a grave-accented syllable (and of intervening unaccented syllables) to the next following acute or circumflex which we find in the Delphic Hymns. At. ii 6. 9-11, if θύροος were read, the melody would be in disregard of the acute accent; reading πυρός, the accented syllable bears the higher note, but a note which is also higher than that of the acute accent of ἔτι.

This evidence would suggest a date for the melody later than the second century B.C. (Delphic Hymns), but earlier than the second century A.D. (assuming the music of the Hymns of Mesomedes to be genuinely of that date).<sup>1</sup> In the degree and nature of its observance of the accents our melody falls broadly with Seikilos, the Hymn (or Hymns) to the Muse, the Berlin Paean, and the Oslo pieces, but none of these, unfortunately, is dated.

## (2) The rhythmical notation

This brief papyrus exemplifies all the five symbols known to us from other musical documents.<sup>2</sup> Two of these, (i) the hyphen and (ii) the double-point or colon,<sup>3</sup> are of uncertain interpretation and may have a melodic rather than a rhythmical significance. (i) The hyphen occurs four times, written under notes belonging to a single syllable: the hyphen at ii 4. 9-10 may be intended to embrace the three notes 8-10.<sup>4</sup> There are three cases in which more than one note is given to a syllable without a hyphen being used (i 2. 3-4; ii 3. 6-7; ii 6. 18-19), and ii 6. 7-8 could be such a case. (ii) It was observed by R. Wagner (*Phil.* lxxix, 207) that, in the Berlin Paean and the Oxyrhynchus Christian Hymn, a double-point is often found preceding a group of notes belonging to a single syllable and not linked with a hyphen.<sup>5</sup> The two certain occurrences in our piece (i 2. 2; ii 6. 17) both fall into this class. It is not impossible that the lower dot of such a double-point has been lost at ii 3. 5 preceding the third instance of a group of notes set to a single syllable without hyphen.


The other three symbols are (iii) the diseme mark, (iv) the dot (στιγματή), and (v) the leimma. It is only in ii 6-8 that (iii) and (iv) are employed regularly and that (v) is employed at all.

(iii) Disemes throughout relate to the syllable and not to the note. Where two notes

<sup>1</sup> But see M. I. Henderson in *New Oxford History of Music*, i 371-3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Symb. Osl.* xxxi 35-42, 73-87.

<sup>3</sup> This term has been used in some earlier discussions, but, since it has technical senses both in ancient metric and in modern punctuation, it is perhaps better avoided.

<sup>4</sup> See *Symb. Osl.* xxxi 76 for possible examples of such a triplet rhythm in the Berlin Paean. Otherwise the group should be rhythmized:  which is also paralleled in the Paean and in the Christian Hymn.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Symb. Osl.* xxxi 87 (and n. 1).

are given to a long syllable, the diseme (if used at all) is generally written over the second note (but contr. ii 4. 12-13). The instances in col. i lack metrical context. In col. ii 1-5 it is not yet clear on what principle disemes are employed in connexion with some long syllables and not with others.<sup>1</sup> For a similarly selective use, in an iambic context, we can compare Oslo B. (iv) Dots are, except in ii 6-8, of infrequent occurrence (they are virtually absent from Oslo B). We cannot say why dots should have been used at ii 3. 5 and 4. 7 and not in other similar cases. Two possibilities must be borne in mind: that the dot is (a) an accidental blot, (b) the upper dot of a double-point of which the lower dot can no longer be read (see above on ii 3. 5-7).

(v) The lambda which occurs frequently in ii 6-8 (and only there) cannot be interpreted as a note of the melody without involving fantastic difficulties. There can be no doubt that it is the symbol of the *leimma*—a rest or protraction. It is interesting that we have it here in the angled (and doubtless original) form known to us from Anon. Bell. 97-102 and the MS. Hymns of Mesomedes and not rounded (as in P. Berl. 6870 and 1786) or flattened (as in Oslo A). Its function seems to be that of protracting the preceding note. This can be seen most clearly in the identical patterns of 7. 1-4, 7. 9-12, 8. 11-14, where, above a cretic text, we find:  $\times \bar{\lambda} \times \bar{\lambda}$ . We suggest that these are iambic metra with the first short syllable 'suppressed'. Instead of using the triseme mark (as found in Seikilos), the composer employs the leimma (as in the Hymns of Mesomedes) to indicate a prolongation. It may have seemed more logical to attach the diseme to the second element, since  $\times \wedge$  is equivalent to  $\times \bar{\lambda}$ , or it may have been a matter of indifference (cf. 6. 9-10), since both symbols together represent a single note. The *στιγμή* indicates that the second half of the metron is regarded as the arsis; it is applied to the long syllable only, as in Anon. Bell. 97. There is no strict parallel to this scheme of notation, but it is perfectly intelligible and reasonably plausible. If this interpretation is correct, these 'cretics' are of the same character as those on which the anonymous writer (?Aristoxenus) of 9 comments, where the *λέξις* is  $\cup - \cup$ , but the rhythm is *δάκτυλος ὁ κατ' ἰαμβον*, the first long syllable having the value of three time-units.<sup>2</sup>

Applying the same principles of interpretation to the remainder of ii 6-8, we obtain the following results:

6. 1-4. The iambic metron is replaced in the *λέξις* by a 'spondee'. The scheme to be expected is  $\times \bar{\lambda} \times \bar{\lambda}$ , but the dot is read over 6. 3 and not over the diseme of 6. 4.

6. 5-8. The *λέξις* is probably  $\cup - \cup -$ . It is not clear why a dot should be placed over 6. 5.

<sup>1</sup> In ii 5 a note with diseme is twice found over a short syllable of the text (assuming that 5. 12 belongs to the second syllable of *μνημονεύσατε*). It looks as though there may have been an error of copying: either the disemes have been placed over the wrong notes or the notation has got out of phase with the text. It is far from clear, in any case, to which syllables the notes 11-13 are intended to belong.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that Aristides Quintilianus 26. 21 J places the thesis before the arsis in his analysis of the *δάκτυλος κατὰ ἰαμβον*.

6. 9-13. The group is closely analogous to the 'cretics' already studied, but the final long syllable is resolved, and the dot placed over the final note.

6. 14-19. 15 belongs to the first syllable of the 'cretic'; the last syllable is set to two notes.

6. 20-22; 7. 5-8; 7. 13-17. The rhythmical interpretation is still obscure.

8. 1. This could be the end of a 'cretic' similarly treated.

8. 2-4. The traces of 3 are consistent with a lambda, and this may well have been a similarly treated 'cretic'.

8. 5-10. The analogies suggest that the rhythmical symbol at 6 is a diseme rather than a dot. 8-10 are not easily read (see critical note), and corrections seem to be involved. It is perfectly possible that the last syllable of the word was set to three (or even four) notes, cf. ii 4. 8-10.

The transcription of col. ii into modern staff notation includes all notes that are read with plausibility, illegible notes being indicated with a mark of interrogation. The time-values given are in some cases conjectural. Lacunae in the line of melody are indicated with square brackets only in those cases where the existence of a gap is not immediately apparent. Some fragments of text not associated with notation have been omitted.

Transcription A<sup>1</sup>

Col. i

Col. ii

<sup>1</sup>υ[ ] + <sup>2</sup>υ <sup>3</sup>ζ <sup>4</sup>μ <sup>5</sup>υ <sup>6</sup>υ <sup>7</sup>υ <sup>8</sup>υ + [  
1 [ . . ] ι ο ρ α . τ α [ . . . . . ] η . . η ψ α υ ω δ ε . [  
<sup>1</sup>μ <sup>2</sup>ζ <sup>3</sup>ζ + [  
2 [ . ] ν ο δ ε μ ο [ . ] . [ . ] ν ι [ . ] α ι σ α ρ ε ω σ υ μ η ς [  
<sup>1</sup>ο <sup>2</sup>ς <sup>3</sup>φ <sup>1</sup>ζ <sup>2</sup>υ + [  
1 ] ρ ε ι φ α 3 μ ο υ μ α λ λ ο ν η υ τ ε κ ν η σ α ε γ ω σ π ε υ σ ο [  
<sup>1</sup>2 3 4 <sup>1</sup> 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13  
φ : R ζ ζ υ [ ] ι μ μ ο ξ ι ζ ε σ φ [  
2 ] χ ρ ε ι σ 4 α π α λ λ α [ . . . . ] ω ν κ α κ ω ν χ ο ρ ε υ σ α τ ε . [  
<sup>1</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup> 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13  
ς ξ + υ ε [ ] + ε ζ ι ζ μ ζ ζ ε υ [  
3 ] ρ ω ν 5 κ α ι μ η [ . ] . [ . ] . α θ η τ ε μ ν η μ ο ν ε υ σ α τ [  
<sup>1</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup> 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22  
R + ι λ μ λ μ + [ ] ι μ ι λ υ ζ ι ξ λ ο : φ ε φ μ ρ [  
4 ] ε π ο σ 6 ε ι τ ι σ κ α τ α σ π γ α σ . υ ρ σ ο ς ε τ ι λ ε ι π ε τ α ι π υ ρ ι π α ι [  
<sup>1</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup> 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17  
ξ ξ ε λ ι ζ ζ [ ] ζ υ υ ζ λ υ ε ι λ ι λ ε [  
5 ] φ α ω ε 7 λ α σ σ ε τ α ι η ν . [ . ] . δ ε σ α ι π ο λ ω ν κ α ι [ [ κ ] ] γ ε ς α σ ο [  
<sup>1</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup> 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15  
ο ε ζ ε + [ ] φ λ υ + ε μ ζ λ ζ υ ε [  
6 ] δ ο μ ο ι σ 8 π η σ π ο ι [ . . . ] σ β ο υ κ ο λ ο ι μ α ι ν α δ ε σ δ ο [

<sup>1</sup> A doubtful letter in the musical notation is shown by the sign +.

Transcription B

[ . . ] ι ο ρ α . τ α [ . . . . . ] η . . η ψ α υ ω δ ε λ [  
[ . ] ν ο δ ε μ ο [ . ] . [ . ] ν ι [ . ] α ι σ α ρ ε ω σ υ μ η ς σ Π ρ ι α - [  
μ ο υ μ α λ λ ο ν η υ τ ε κ ν η σ ' ε γ ω σ π ε υ σ ο [  
α π α λ λ α [ γ η ν τ ] ω ν κ α κ ω ν χ ο ρ ε υ σ α τ ε . [  
5 κ α ι μ η [ . ] . [ . ] μ α θ η τ ε μ ν η μ ο ν ε υ σ α τ ε . [  
ε ι τ ι σ κ α τ α σ τ ε γ α σ π υ ρ σ ο ς ε τ ι λ ε ι π ε τ α ι , π υ ρ ι , π α ι [ δ ε σ  
λ α σ σ ε τ α ι . η ν , π [ α ] ι δ ε σ α ι π ο λ ω ν κ α ι γ ε ς α σ ο [  
π η σ π ο ι [ μ ε ν ε ] σ β ο υ κ ο λ ο ι μ α ι ν α δ ε σ δ ο [

Text: col. i 1 a high horizontal before ρ, probably part of a ligature with ε (e.g. φέρει)  
Col. ii 1 ]ιορ.τα[ : for ι, ρ possible; for ν, τ possible; between α and τ a narrow letter, α, υ, σ;  
after τ, ρ also possible. The phrase could be read ]ιοι (or ]ιοι) μ[ε]τα[ .]η.η; two or three inter-  
vening letters, e.g. πο, σνθ, τος At end of line, after ε, a curved upright, perhaps λ 2 ]νι[ :  
only the feet of upright letters visible, and many other interpretations are possible, e.g. ισ, π, even η  
At end letter after μ is not ε but η. Therefore not υμεις, υμετ[ερ- Last letter σ, τ, less probably ρ[.  
3 Second λ of μαλλον uncertain 5 και: upright of κ and upper part of oblique, moving upward  
to right, then oblique from left to lower right. σοι seems excluded Before α of αθητε, end of tail  
of μ, α, or λ 6 Scribe clearly wrote σπ, thereafter a horizontal and an upright that suits only γ  
Initial letter of .υρσος cannot be identified 7 After ην a horizontal, either τ or π Before δεσ  
more like ι than α At end after και an alteration, perhaps to γεας ο[. 8 δσ[ : perhaps erased  
Notation: col. i 2. 1 φ is immediately over ρ 3. 2 Uncertain, ε is possible, but cf. ii 4. 8  
4. 2 perhaps μ  
Col. ii 2. 5 Diseme not certain, but the mark seems to be ink, not a fold in the pap. 3. 5 A  
clear dot after μ, but placed low, not high, and therefore probably upper dot of double dot 4. 7  
Uncertain whether dot or line, or whether two dots over following ξ 4. 12 Diseme is over first  
of group 5. 1 Probably with dot 5. 2 Reading uncertain 5. 12 ε is placed exactly  
over the second ν of μνημονευσατ[ 6. 6 Trace consistent with first stroke of μ 7. 6, 7 Un-  
certain 8. 1 dot over diseme uncertain 8. 3 Could be 4[ 8. 6 Diseme is expected  
after λ, and perhaps mark should be so read 8. 8 Possibly two signs, not one. Could be  
interpreted as μ made as correction 8. 9-10 Alternative reading as φλ does not account for all the  
ink. μ over a correction

2 Before Άρεως, π]αίς or a feminine plural. At the end, 'Υμησ[ός or 'Υμήν, not υμεις.  
3 At end σπεύσο[ντες, σπεύσο[μαι, σπευσό[μενος (or -οι), σπεύσο[υσα? εὐτεκνέω = 'to be happy in  
children', L.S.J., normally stressing the number of children; but Eur. fr. 520 N<sup>2</sup> = 'to have good  
children'.  
5 μῆ [πάθει] μάθητε is not too long for the space, but cannot be verified. Or ]λάθητε?  
6 It is easier to emend to στέγας than σπέος. For .υρσος, πυρσός is to be preferred to θύρσος in  
view of the accent and of πυρί.  
7 At beginning e.g. φυ]λάσσειται, ἀπαλ]λάσσειται. The only verbs to be taken into account are  
σελάσσομαι, παλάσσομαι, μαλάσσω, σταλάσσω, ψαλάσσω, θλάσσω.  
The horizontal after ν excludes Ν[α]ιδες. A bacchius? The notation treats ] .δεσ as long.

1  ]ιογα . τα[ ]η . . η ψαύ-ω δέ

2  [. ]ν. ó δέ μο[ ]αις Ά-ρε-ως 'Υ-μησ[

3  μου μάλ-λον ηὐτέκνησα ἐ-γώ σπευ-σο[

4  ἀπ-αλ-λα[ τ]ῶν κα-κῶν χο-ρεύ-σα-τε . [

5  και μῆ[ ] . ἀ - θη - τε μνη - μο - νεύ-σα - τ[ε

6  εἴ τις κα-τὰ στέγας πυρ - σός ἔ-τι λεί - πε-ται, πυ-ρί, παῖ[δες

7  λάσ - σε-ται· ἦν, π[α]ῖ - δεσ αἰ - πό-λων και γέας ο[

8  πης ποι[μένε]ς βου - κό-λοι μαι - νά-δες θρ[

## ADDENDUM to P. Oxy. XIX 2217 and XXIII 2398

## 2437. CALLIMACHUS, 'Εκάλη

The isolated scrap published below represents yet another manuscript of the *Hecale* of Callimachus. It contains parts of some of the same verses as 2217 (indicated by half-brackets) and 2398, which resembles it in being the top of a column, but the combined contributions of all three do not by themselves provide any basis for conjecture about the tenor of the passage, though a guess may be hazarded on the basis of the two lines which may be completed with the help of ancient quotations.

The writing is a smallish round uncial of about the same date as 2376. The two accents may be by the same hand as the text.

χοιμικ[	γαστέρι μόνον· ἔ]χοιμι κ[ακῆς ἀλκίτηρια λιμοῦ
]έχειδο[	.]δου μεχ[ ]έχειδο[
]ειτονεδ.[	ἀ]λλ' εκαλ[ ] . ελ]ει]τονεδ.[
]νονπαγ.[	..δ. ακ[ ]νον παγ.[
5 ]ῶνοσαπ[	καὶ κρίμνον [κυκε]ῶνο]ς ἀπ[οστάξαντος ἔραζε
]ιξεπ[	..]λμης[ ] . ρυτ]ικ ἐπ[έσσεται] κτλ.

1 Callim. fr. 346 3 .[, the lower left-hand arc of a circle, off the line, with a slightly curved stroke descending to right from its upper end; not ε, perhaps a damaged ο or ω 4 Of γ only the cross-stroke, of which the right-hand end dips slightly, and a couple of dots representing the upright .[, slightly below the general level ink resembling the left-hand end of a 'short'; above it in the interlinear space the left-hand side of a circle 5 Callim. fr. 260, 46

2 I do not see the point of the accent. The third person of ἔχω would hardly be provided with it and the contracted form of (-)εχεε would not be distinguished by its means. (Only χευ- forms are hitherto attested for Callimachus.) Remoter possibilities can be thought of but are not worth discussion.

3 If what is being said is that the speaker got (asked for, or the like) just what kept body and soul together, perhaps the proper articulation is λειτον, i.e. λιτόν.

INDEXES

(The figures 24 are to be supplied before 26-37; figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman figures to columns; an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture; a reference enclosed in round brackets indicates an interlinear comment.)

(a) 2426-2429

ἀγα- 27<sup>50(c)</sup> 7.  
 ἄγριος 27<sup>15(b)</sup> 6.  
 ἀείδω [27<sup>51</sup> 5].  
 ἀηδής 29<sup>1(a)</sup> iii 13.  
 ἀθέμιτος [27<sup>51</sup> 24].  
 ἄθυρμα 29<sup>1(c)</sup> 3.  
 αἰ 27<sup>1(a)</sup> 5, [1<sup>(b)</sup> 3?], 51 23?,  
 [29<sup>1</sup> ii 31].  
 (-)αἰόλος 27<sup>51</sup> II.  
 αἰσχρός 29<sup>1(a)</sup> iii 13.  
 αἰτέω 27<sup>29</sup> 5.  
 ἄκασκα 29<sup>1(a)</sup> iii 15.  
 ἀκούω 27<sup>51</sup> I, 4.  
 ἀκριβ( ) [27<sup>1(c)</sup> 2, 3 i 5, 6 4].  
 ἄκρος 29<sup>7</sup> 6.  
 ἀλεκτορίς 27<sup>1(c)</sup> 3.  
 ἀλήθεια 29<sup>1</sup> ii 20], 7 19.  
 ἀλιείω 29<sup>1</sup> ii 14.  
 ἀλικός 27<sup>1(b)</sup> 4.  
 ἄλλ- 27<sup>1(c)</sup> I.  
 ἄλλα 27<sup>1(c)</sup> 2, 3, 18 9, 32 6, 42 6,  
 51 3, 53(c) 5, (54 7) 29<sup>1</sup> ii 4, II,  
 12, 7 18.  
 ἄλλας 27<sup>51</sup> 25.  
 (-)αλλάσσω 29<sup>1</sup> iii 6.  
 ἀλοιάω 29<sup>1</sup> ii 15, 18, [20], 22.  
 \*ἀμαρτωλικός 27<sup>1(b)</sup> 13.  
 ἀμυγδάλη 27<sup>31(b)</sup> 2.  
 ἀμφιβολία 29<sup>1</sup> ii 16.  
 ἄν 29<sup>1</sup> ii 10, 17, 19.  
 ἀνεμ- 27<sup>12(a)</sup> 3?  
 ἀνευ 27<sup>27</sup> 14.  
 ἀνθραξ [27<sup>23</sup> 2, 5].  
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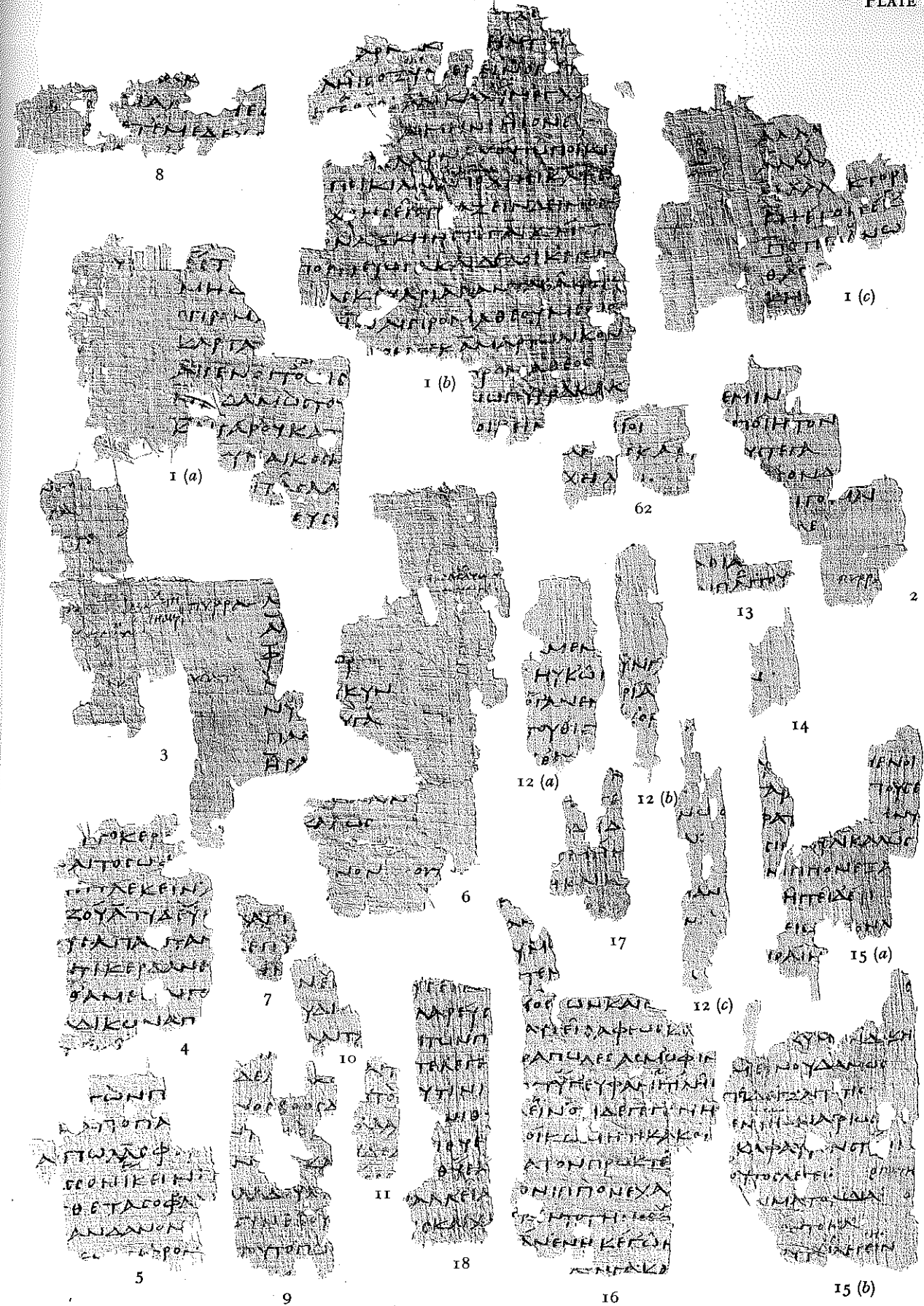
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35 (h)  
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ΠΡΟΒΕΡΟΝ  
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ΠΡΟΒΕΡΟΝ

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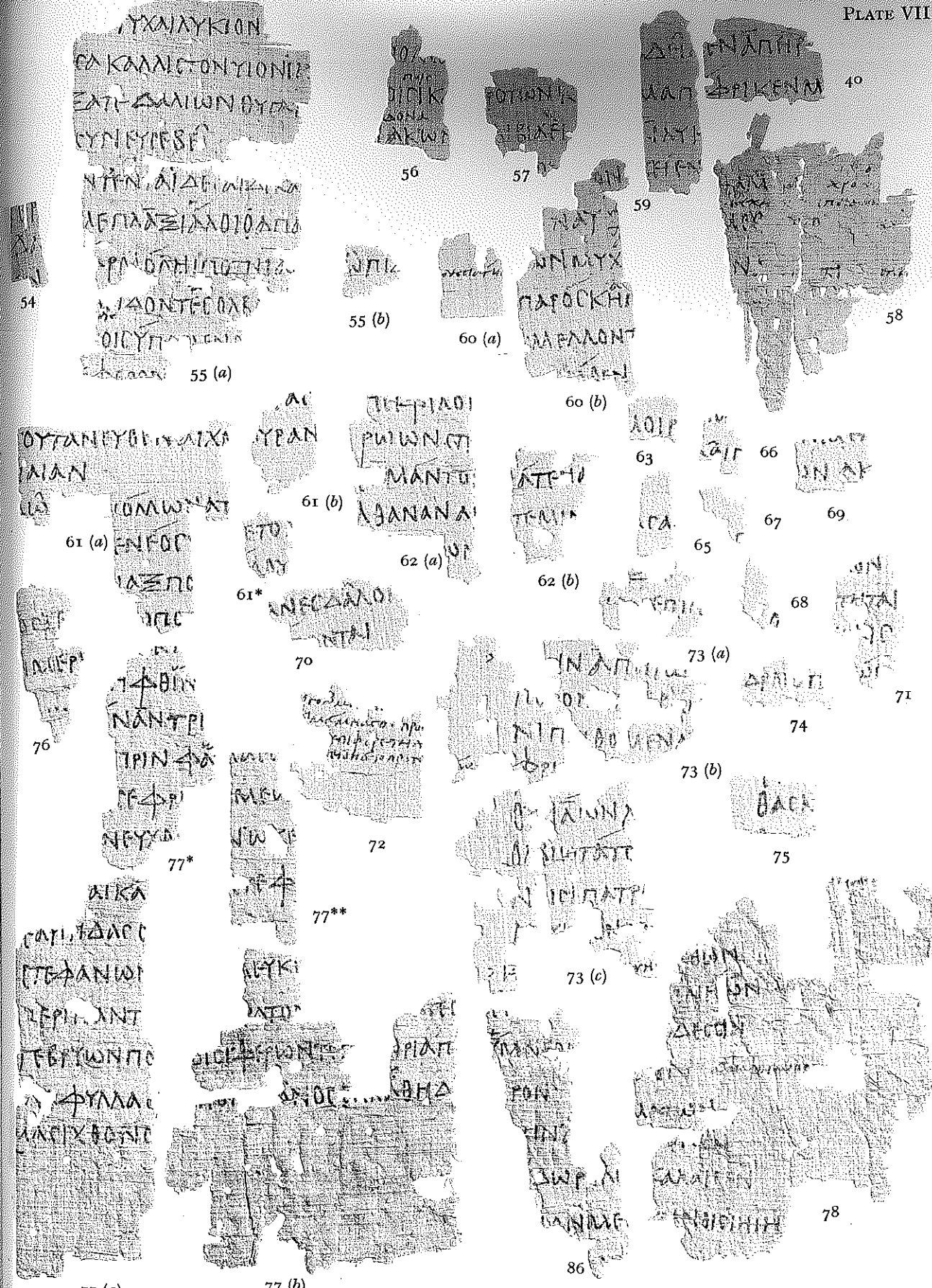
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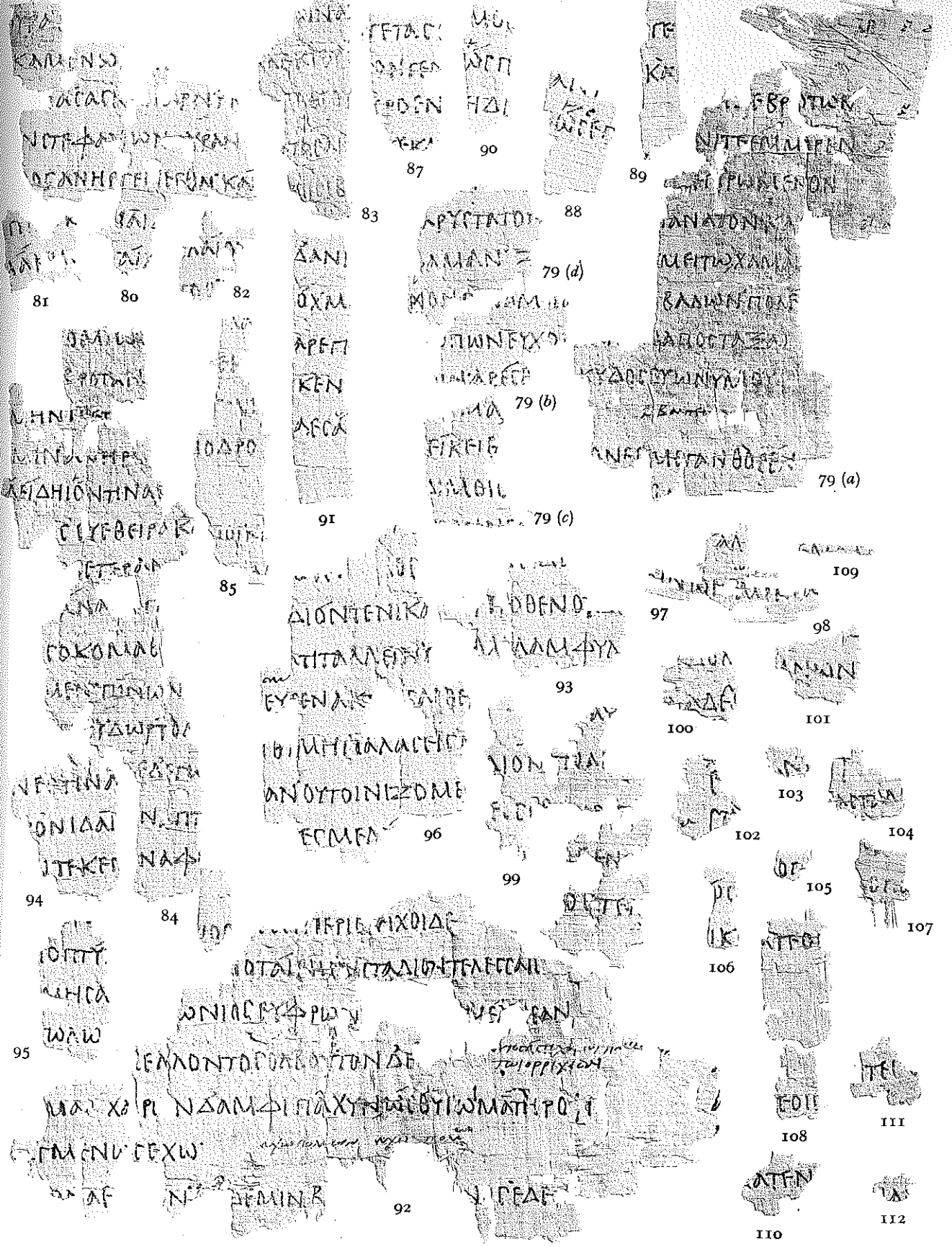
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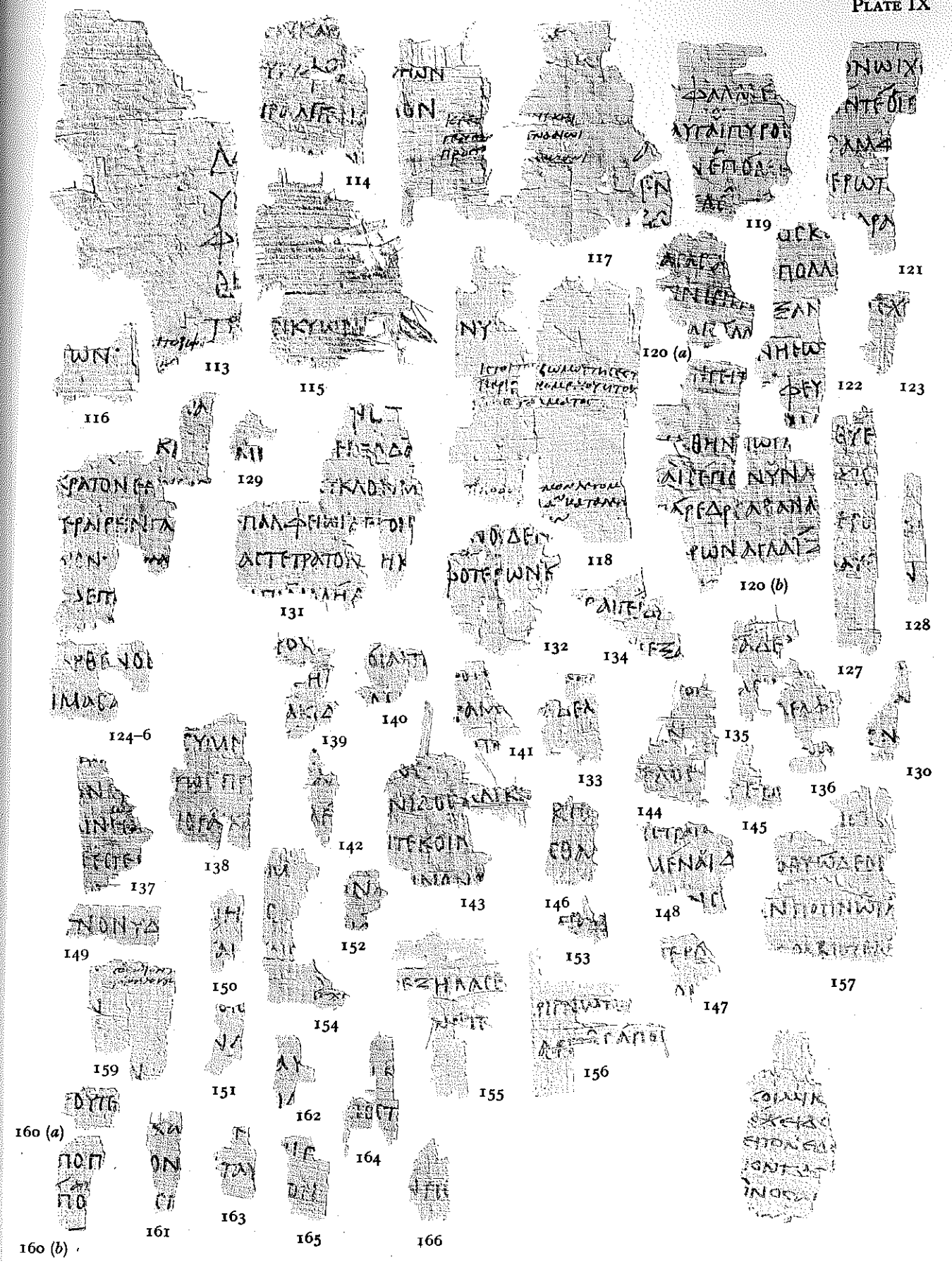




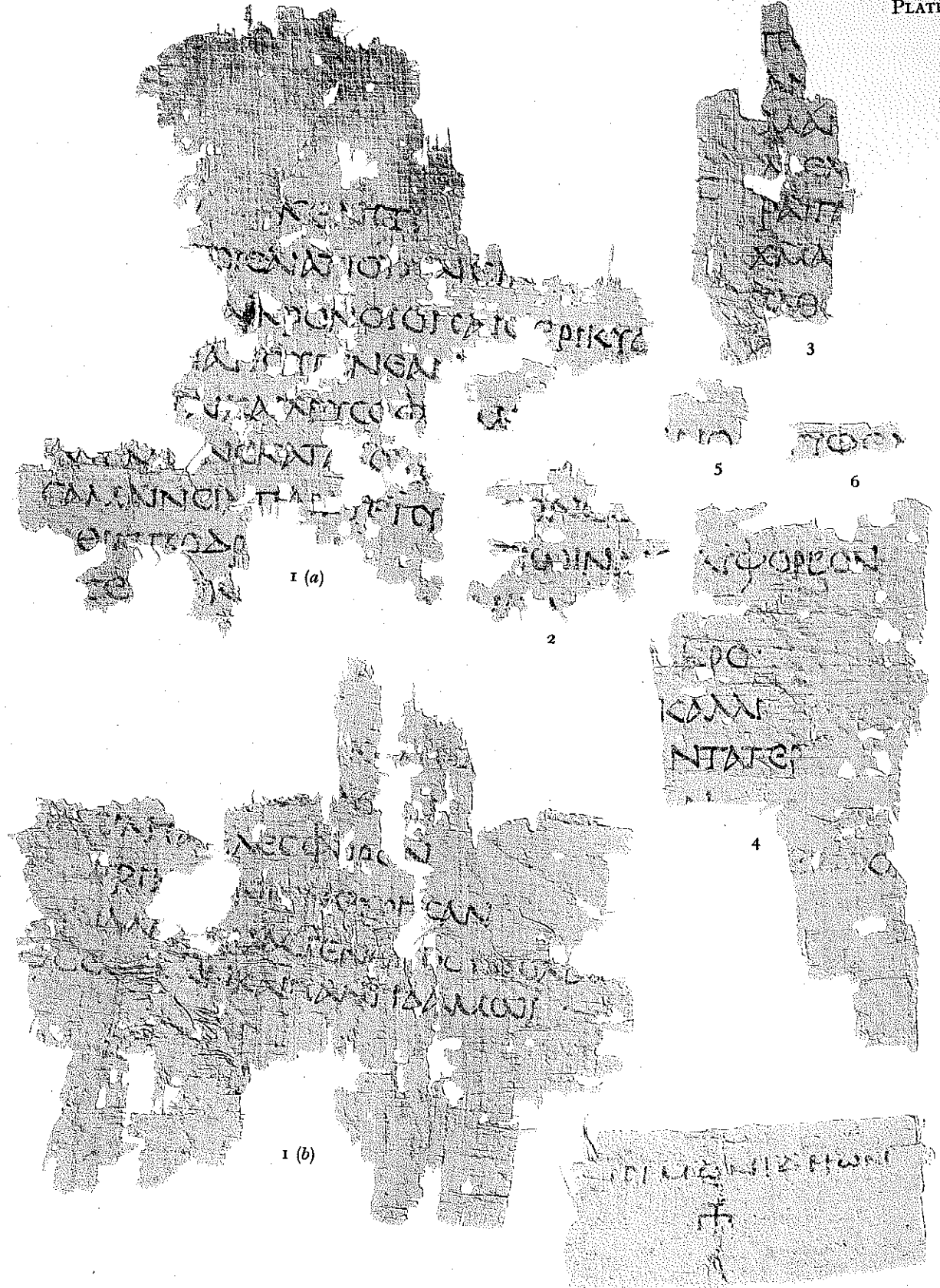
77 (a)

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[Fragmentary Greek text on papyrus, consisting of approximately 20 lines. The text is highly obscured by horizontal and vertical damage, with significant portions missing and the remaining characters often illegible due to the texture and wear of the original document. Some faint characters like alpha, beta, gamma, and delta are visible but cannot be accurately transcribed.]









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